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THE SIKH DARBAR AND THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR.

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3131

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The following pages will attempt to describe and discuss as critically as possible the part played by the Lahore Darbar in the execution of British policy towards Afghanistan from 1838 to 1842. This subject has not had the attention it deserves, and has, therefore, been inadequately treated in the existing literature on the First Afghan War.

It is unnecessary to enter into the circumstances which led to the formation of the Tripartite Treaty; that subject has been treated by Mr. Kherra in the preceding issue of the Journal. The Tripartite Treaty was ratified on 25th July, 1838. It gave Ranjit Singh the advantage he had so far desired. Not only the Shah, but the English also now guaranteed him in his territories, lying on either bank of the Indus, in fact all that he possessed at the time from Kashmir in the north down to Amarkot in the south. The Shah gave up all claims on Sind, and agreed to accept whatever sum the British might determine, out of which 15 lakhs were to be given to Ranjit Singh in settlement of his claims on the Amirs. The British Government guaranteed the payment of 2 lakhs annually to Ranjit Singh (calculated from the date on which the Sikh troops should be despatched) on condition of his stationing 5,000 Mohammadan cavalry and infantry within the Peshawar territory for the Shah's support. This force was to aid the Shah when the British and the Sikhs thought necessary. In fact the

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British and Sikh governments were to act jointly, and were also to exercise joint control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan.¹

Ostensibly the treaty achieved the immediate object of the British Government, which was to enlist the support of Ranjit Singh in the projected plan of seating Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. But it had certain defects, which will be examined later as we pursue the course of the expedition. Being inexperienced in frontier politics, the makers of the treaty could not visualise what influence apparently small matters would wield on the arrangements of the struggle, and therefore did not pay sufficient attention to defining and adjusting territorial rights between the Sikhs and the Afghans. The home government perceived from the beginning that the interests of Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh had been reconciled by the treaty, but there was no confidence between the Sikhs and the Afghans. It therefore stressed that the jealousy and fear of the Afghans should not be enkindled, that Ranjit Singh should not be allowed to acquire any new territory at the expense of the Afghans and that the Sikhs should not be required to advance until absolutely necessary.²

After the treaty had been made the British Government decided to take a larger share in the expedition and set about making preparations which were somewhat lessened by the news received in November that the siege of Herat had been raised by the Persians. Of the two ways leading to Afghanistan, the one through the Khaibar was the shorter, easier and more direct, but for various reasons Ranjit Singh was disinclined to let the whole force pass through the Punjab. So the army of the Indus left Ferozepore with Shah Shuja on 10th December to proceed to Kandahar *via* Sind and Baluchistan. Besides, the Shah had actually preferred to go by the longer route in view of the advantage to be gained by a march through Sind. The Khaibaris, he said, were his slaves and would not raise difficulties.³ Colonel Wade accompanied the Shah's son, Shahzada Taimur, and advanced with a smaller force through the Punjab with the object of forcing the

¹ Aitchison. Vol. 1, pp. 41-44. Also see *idem* pp. 4-6, foot-note for the text of the original engagement between Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.

² India Board to Governor-General of India in Council, 24th October and 5th November 1838 (India Office Record, Secret Despatches, Vol. 37., ff. 49-58).

³ Kaye. The War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 329.

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Khaibar and causing a diversion. The movement was made just before Ranjit's death, which occurred in June, 1839, and it was not until 3rd September that the Shahzada reached Kabul.

Wade's service as political agent in charge of the Shahzada's force, was indeed commendable. From his station at Peshawar he had no doubt made the restoration agreeable to the parties at Kabul, even before the Shah had arrived. But he had to give money to the Khaibar chiefs and promise more from the Shah. As a matter of fact, the Shah could not satisfy the chiefs occupying the western Khaibar owing to the financial restraint exercised by the Envoy.¹ The Khaibaris raised troubles and attacked the posts which Wade had established between Peshawar and Jallalabad. A battalion of Sikh Najibs entrenched near Ali Masjid was partially discomfited.² Sir John Keene's return with a portion of the army of the Indus pacified the Khaibaris for a short time, but they again harassed the relief parties which were sent to Ali Masjid. Colonel Wheeler who marched from Jallalabad lost some of his baggage and cattle. Macnaghten then appeared on the scene and quietened them with payments.³

Kunwar Nau Nihal Singh, Ranjit's grandson, had reached Peshawar on 26th April, 1839. Together with Raja Gulab Singh, Lehna Singh Majithia and General Ventura, he had remained at the head of a force at Peshawar to support the Shahzada's passage through the Khaibar, and had not left his post on hearing of Ranjit's death. As soon as this business was accomplished, the reserve camp at Attock was broken up, though the required contingent stayed at Peshawar under Colonel Shaikh Bassawan, while the Kunwar arrived in Lahore in September to share in the plans, which led to the deposition of Kharak Singh and the establishment of his regency.

Government congratulated the Kunwar and the Sikh Darbar on the successful accomplishment of the Shahzada's march. At first Wade had complained of delay caused by the Darbar in supplying the

¹ Wade to Maddock, 9th December 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 12th February 1840, No. 36).

² Ind. Sec. Cons. 30th October 1839, No. 46.

³ Kaye. The War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 489.

stipulated contingent, but the Government of India had taken a more moderate view of the matter, and had rightly attributed the delay, caused by the Darbar, to its pre-occupation on account of Ranjit's fatal illness.¹ Clerk's visit to the Maharaja in May 1839 confirmed this view, which was best expressed in a communication made to Colonel Wade on 3rd June :—

“His Lordship has been very happy to find that Ranjit Singh evinces the most anxious desire to acquit himself of his obligations under the Tripartite Treaty and has attended most readily to your wishes in respect to the auxiliary force which he has engaged to furnish in support of the Shahzada.”²

The co-operation rendered by the Sikhs in furthering the Shahzada's advance proved to be so satisfactory on the whole that Colonel Wade on his return expressed himself about it in distinct terms of appreciation :—

“It is in my opinion apparent, that the Sikhs have performed the service originally contemplated, *viz.*, of forcing the Pass of Khaibar, simultaneously with the advance of the Shah on Kabul, and of the occupation of the intermediate country, to enable the Shah to establish his own authority.”³

But Macnaghten thought otherwise. He and Mackeson (who had been appointed political agent at Peshawar after Wade's return in the autumn of 1839) attributed the trouble caused by the Khaibaris largely to Sikh interference. Further, some Ghilzai refugees found shelter at Kohat in the winter of 1839 with the Barakzai feudatories of Lahore. The Envoy doubted the motives of the Lahore darbar, and feared that it had a hand in the shelter which had been provided to the Ghilzais. At the same time the Lahore Darbar had shown unwillingness to permit a British force to pass through the Punjab more than once. Macnaghten believed that the unfriendly attitude of the Darbar was evidenced by its refusal to accord a free passage to British Troops and convoys through the Punjab.

¹ Maddock to Wade, 22nd April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd July, 1839, No. 20).

² Same to same. 3rd June (Idem, 11th September 1839, No. 42).

³ Wade to Maddock, 21st December 1839 (Idem, 23rd March 1840, No. 41).

In the circumstances he made rather extreme proposals. He stressed the urgent need of "macadamising the road through the Punjab." It was feared that a rupture with the Sikhs could not be avoided unless they gave way.¹

It is unnecessary to emphasise that in his suggested coercion of the Sikhs (as well as of Herat), a subject which engaged his constant attention through the greater part of 1840, Macnaghten was influenced purely by considerations of success in Afghanistan. His drastic suggestions of coercing the Sikhs found no favour with the Government of India, which while it determined, in view of the unexpected turn of events in Afghanistan, to march armies and forward convoys through the Khaibar alone, saw no point in alienating the Sikhs by making unnecessary demands. The home government conveyed a similar view.²

The question of passing British forces and convoys had presented itself to the British Government not long after Ranjit Singh's death. When Clerk visited Lahore in September 1839 on a mission of condolence, he was required by the Government of India to avoid formal discussions on the subject, but to persuade the Darbar to offer facilities of its own accord.³ This the Darbar was willing to do, provided a guarantee were given by the British Government that the passage was required only once, and the returning army would pass by the Dera Ismail Khan route. Clerk found that the Darbar regarded the subject of the passage of a British force as one of "deep importance," especially at a time when its own affairs were so unsettled. His own opinion was that the sacrifice of independence involved in the concession of such a privilege, if ever indispensable to the British Government, will essentially alter the relative positions of the two states, to a degree, indeed, that can only result from the terms of a new treaty."⁴ Clerk only succeeded in obtaining permission for the returning force

¹ Kaye. *The War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I. p. 515.

² India Board to Governor-General of India in Council, 4th November and 19th November 1839 (*Secret Despatches*, Vol. 38. ff. 63 and 78).

³ Maddock to Clerk 20th August (*Ind. Sec. Cons.*, 16th October 1839, No. 116).

⁴ Clerk to Government (14th September 1839 (*Idem*. 20th April 1840, No. 88).

to pass through the Punjab by promising that the request for another passage would not be made. Government thought that Clerk had "engaged in terms more positive than were necessary," and required him to inform the Darbar that Government would effect no passage without the Darbar's permission.¹ It also expressed the hope that the Darbar would realise the circumstances and would accommodate the British Government.

But the Darbar took a different view of the matter. The political wisdom and friendly spirit of Ranjit were no longer the governing factors of its policy. If Kharak Singh had not been deposed on 8th October, he would have raised no difficulties. In fact he had granted permission for a convoy to be sent in January 1840 and others following it whenever necessary.² But with the coming of the youthful Nau Nihal Singh, things had changed. He disapproved of the tame manner in which Ranjit Singh had always yielded to the British, and in this view he was supported by Bhai Ram Singh and others. Not understanding the situation as it had developed in Afghanistan, he began to distrust the British plan of maintaining an army in that country after the Shah had been enthroned at Kabul, and feared that the British and Afghans might encroach on the Sikh territory.³ A very satisfactory clue to the questions affecting Sikh policy towards the Afghan expedition lies in the suggestion that it was influenced by fear and distrust, rather than in the view that the Sikh authorities were actively working against the British Government.

Nau Nihal Singh granted permission to the convoy to be passed in January 1840 after great hesitation, but once he gave way he raised no more objections. Several convoys of treasure and military stores passed through the Punjab escorted by British and Sikh troops, and before the end of the year a whole brigade made its way to Kabul. It might be added in passing that Wade's transfer from Ludhiana to

¹ Maddock to Clerk, 14th October 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 20th April 1840, No. 89).

² Wade to Maddock, 9th December 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 4th May 1840, No. 14).

³ Clerk to Torrens, 23rd August (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th September 1840, No. 82).

Indore was the price which the Government paid to bring round the Kunwar to its way of thinking as regards the passing of convoys and troops.

It is arguable that the Sikh attitude towards the passing of British forces was created partly by apprehension concerning the indefinite territorial position on the Khaibar frontier. From September 1839, when Clerk visited Lahore, the Lahore Darbar continued to urge its claims of sovereignty over certain areas like Swat, Bunner and Panjtar on the basis of what was acknowledged in Article 1 of the Treaty, which ran as below :—

“Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, and all the Suddozies, to all the territories lying on either bank of the river Indus, that may be possessed by the Maharaja, *viz.*, Cashmeer, including its limits, E. W. N. S., together with the fort of Attock, Chuch Huzara, Khubul, Umb, with its dependencies, on the left bank of the afore-said river, and on the right bank Peshawar, with the Eusufzaee territory, the Khutuks, Husht Nugger, Mitchnee, Kohat, Hungoo, and all places dependent on Peshawar, as far as the Khaibar Pass.”

Examination will at once reveal the indefinite nature of this territorial stipulation. The words “Peshawar with the Eusafzaee territory, the Khutuks . . . and all places dependent on Peshawar, as far as the Khaibar Pass” . . . proved to be most difficult of precise definition. What was to determine the nature of sovereignty or dependency in that area at that time ? Again, the Persian text of the Treaty, on which the Sikhs took their stand, was undoubtedly capable of a wider and a more indistinct interpretation, which the Sikhs employed in their favour.¹ According to it the Sikh sovereignty comprised “Peshawar with the Yusafzai, etc., the Khutuks . . . and all places dependent on Peshawar, up to the boundary of the Khaibar.” The use of an “etc.” has seldom done more mischief. The Darbar urged time and again that the “etc.” meant that it could complete the extension of its

¹ The writer has compared the English translation of the Treaty with the Persian text, a copy of which was supplied to him by the kindness of Lt.-Col. H. L. O. Garrett, Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government.

sovereignty over such areas as were in the process of reduction at the time when the Treaty was formed. It construed the phrase " up to the boundary of the Khaibar " to mean that it could continue to collect revenue from the few miles of country between Jamrud and the mouth of the Khaibar.

So far as the British Government was concerned, it appears that the question had arisen out of the needs of a situation which the framers of the Treaty had not been able to forecast. It is, therefore, interesting to study how Government shaped its view in regard to the matter. In November 1839 both the Government and the Envoy had believed that the Sikh claims as stated in Article 1 of the Treaty would have to be admitted.¹ But by April of the following year Macnaghten came to believe that the Sikh claims were inadmissible and in any case, the Darbar should agree not to create disputes until the question of boundaries had been settled by mutual arbitration.² Presumably his earlier view had been altered by the Sikh attitude towards the Ghilzais and by factors which might influence his success in Afghanistan.

The anxiety of the Sikh authorities to vindicate their sovereignty on the Khaibar front led to other troubles. Avitabile, the Sikh governor at Peshawar, ousted some Afridis from their lands between Jamrud and the Khaibar on non-payment of revenue, and replaced them by the rival clan of Orukzais. Mackeson observed that this act, which had been done in spite of his guarantee as regards the payment of revenue, was certain to inflame the Afridis, and cause trouble in the Khaibar. Again, Avitabile detained from four to five hundred Afghan merchants in Peshawar and closed the road to Kabul in order to recover a sum of 40,000 rupees, which had been plundered in his territory by the Afridis. Avitabile's measures were disagreeable and calculated to create complications with the Khaibaris, who would make no distinction between the Sikhs and the British.³

¹ Macnaghten to Maddock, 11th November 1839, and Maddock to Macnaghten, 5th December 1839. (Ind. Sec. Cons., 23rd March 1840, No. 30 and 32).

² Same to same 26th April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 25th May 1840, No. 55-A).

³ Maddock to Clerk, 15th May (Ind. Sec. Cons., 18th May 1840, No. 60).

The question which necessitated protracted discussions and compromised the Sikh Darbar most was that of the Ghilzai refugees. Some of the Ghilzais who had been raising trouble against the Shah since his entry into Afghanistan, had been harboured in Kohat by Sultan Muhammad Barakzai during the winter of 1839-40, and allowed to escape with the approach of the spring. They created fresh disturbances between Kabul and Kandahar. Another chief, Amir Khan Nawazi had been allowed to escape to Bajaur. Government at first dropped a polite hint in 1840.¹ This was followed by a strong remonstrance in March as to the impropriety of the conduct of the Darbar's feudatories.² Believing that the presence of the Barakzais was most obnoxious to the cause of Shah Shuja, Macnaghten altered his earlier view of the Sikh claims to territories on the frontier and urged upon the Government in April the necessity of asking the Darbar to withdraw both the Barakzais and the remaining Ghilzai refugees from the frontier.³

The settlement of all these matters, as also the necessity of abrogating clause 15 of the Tripartite Treaty, required Clerk's presence at the Darbar. Before the political agent visited Amritsar in May, he sent for Fakir Aziz-ud-Din in order to gauge the feelings of the Darbar on the various matters under dispute. The Fakir faithfully represented the viewpoints of the Darbar, but promised help in removing the difficulties. Clerk found the Darbar very amenable. Avitabile was checked; Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai was threatened; claims to the disputed territory were held in abeyance pending the proposed arbitration. But the Darbar put forth its view regarding the last subject unmistakably. Ranjit Singh had contemplated no distinction between the Yusafzais in actual subjection "and those with whom the Sikhs had been forming those relations which would soon have resulted in the completion of their subjection also." Clerk, however, did his utmost to limit the meaning of the territorial phrases under discussion.

¹ Governor-General to Maharaja Kharak Singh, 29th January (Ind. Sec. Cons., 2nd March 1840, No. 61).

² Maddock to Wade, 2nd March (Ind. Sec. Cons. 2nd March 1840, No. 70).

³ Macnaghten to Maddock, 26th April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 25th May 1840, No. 55-A).

While the Darbar offered ready redress for some matters, it delayed compliance with other demands, particularly that in regard to the withdrawal of the Barakzais and the Ghilzais. It maintained a pliant attitude, but its measures were "very dilatory and the conduct of the Barakzais evasive." Nau Nihal Singh was subject to many influences; Raja Dhian Singh and others supported the cause of the Barakzais on the plausible ground that they had been faithful to the Sikhs since Ranjit Singh's days and that the administration of Peshawar could not be carried on without their co-operation. The Sikhs viewed the British demand with regard to the refugees and the British interpretation of the territorial stipulation with distrust which filled their whole understanding of the Treaty and the British policy towards Afghanistan. Clerk doubted whether the Sikhs had ever liked the Treaty. And, as during the late discussions the Government interpretation of some of the clauses had proved to be different from what the Sikhs had always understood to be the meaning of those clauses, the Sikhs were really apprehensive that the Afghans would succeed in recovering some of the Sikh territory.¹ In other words it was a Sikh *versus* Afghan question, and as the needs of the case required the British to support the Afghan claims, the Sikhs appeared to be suspicious of the designs of their allies. The home government was not surprised at the difficulties of territorial adjustment, and feared "that the Boundary question will not easily be settled." Still it expressed the view in July 1840 that forbearance was essential, though a few months later in December, it changed its earlier view and approved of the military preparations made by the Government of India to force a passage through the Punjab if necessary and to compel the Sikhs to perform their share of the Treaty.²

Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai arrived at Lahore on 15th July accompanied by one of his brothers, but another, Pir Muhammad Khan, still remained at Peshawar. Clerk made repeated protests, and finally in September, sent for Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and declared that the Darbar must choose between the Barakzais and friendship with the

¹ Clerk to Torrens, 23rd August (Punjab Government Record, N.-W. F. Agency, 1840, Book 149, No. 54).

² India Board to the Governor-General of India in Council, 31st December 1840 (Secret Despatches, Vol. 38, ff 332-33).

British Government. Sultan Muhammad Khan and the Ghilzais were then sent to Ludhiana on 23rd September. A further demand now came from Ludhiana for the families of the Barakzais and the Ghilzais also to be removed from the frontier, and their jagirs to be confiscated. This somewhat staggered the Darbar but Nau Nihal Singh ordered even these demands also to be met.¹

It is evident that the Darbar would not have adopted this course of action unless driven to it by necessity. It had only acted on perceiving that its delay regarding the Barakzais and Ghilzais had caused misunderstanding with Government. But the perception had come too late. The situation in Afghanistan had taken an unfavourable turn. Government had also come into possession of certain intercepted letters from the Barakzais to Dost Muhammad and various other parties in Afghanistan. Government believed that the dilatory policy of the Darbar in dealing with the Barakzais had contributed to this new situation. Auckland addressed a stiff letter to Kharak Singh saying "that the Government of your Highness has not at heart the preservation of the engagements to which it is a party."² Clerk was told that the Barakzais had supplied money to the enemies of the Shah, and the Kunwar's name had been used in political intrigues. Auckland did not believe in the accusations against the Kunwar, but by its neglect and evasion the Darbar had made itself responsible. It was therefore imperative on the part of the Darbar to raise no difficulties whatsoever in sending reinforcements to Afghanistan. In other words, a British brigade was now to be marched through the Punjab without taking a formal sanction from the Sikhs. Realising the gravity of the situation, the Darbar readily agreed and promised to render help on its own account.³ Earlier in the year 1840, Government had suggested to the Darbar that as the services of the Sikh contingent were no longer necessary, clause 15 of the Treaty might be abrogated. But the Darbar was opposed to any such measure by virtue of which

¹ Punjab Intelligence up to 30th September 1840 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 26th October 1840, No. 115).

² Auckland to Kharak Singh, 1st October (Idem, 5th October, No. 75).

³ Clerk to Government, 22nd October (Ind. Sec. Cons., 9th November 1840, No. 128).

alone it could take any active share in the Afghan expedition. The contingent had not been maintained at its full strength, but the Darbar would put it in full force again.¹ At this stage the Kunwar became ready to take command of the contingent as before. In other ways also co-operation was rendered to the Government, and a bridge of boats was speedily constructed at Firozpur.

Clerk made great efforts to get the contingent ready, but Macnaghten did not approve of this measure, fearing that the Sikhs would be treacherous allies. Government disliked the prospect of controversy between its officers, and while it wished to make the fullest use of the spirit of co-operation now shown by the Darbar, it had no intention of committing itself as regards the past conduct of the Sikhs of which the Envoy had proof.²

Towards the end of October, Clerk reported that all other matters had been settled with the Darbar. It only remained to withdraw the Barakzai and Ghilzai families and confiscate their jagirs, settle the question of Swat and Bunner and clear the position with regard to the intercepted letters.³ The Darbar promptly ordered the removal of the families and the confiscation of the jagirs; and when its vakil forwarded from Clerk the copy of an intercepted communication in which Nau Nihal Singh's name occurred, the Kunwar showed great satisfaction and remarked that it was a proof of British friendship that such forgeries were brought to his notice.⁴ A few days after, a communication was brought from Yar Muhammad Khan of Herat making insinuations against the British. The Kunwar at once submitted it to the political agent, who after enquiring by what channel it was supposed to have been conveyed, doubted if it was genuine, and remarked that it was very likely an attempt of the Afghans to implicate the Darbar.⁵ Clerk found no evidence to convince him that Nau

¹ Clerk to Torrens, 18th September (Ind. Sec. Cons., 5th October 1840, No. 128).

² Government to Clerk, 23rd November (Idem, 23rd November 1840, No. 62).

³ Clerk to Government, 24th October (Ind. Sec. Cons., 9th November 1840, No. 132).

⁴ Punjab Intelligence up to 23rd October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 16th November 1840, No. 63).

⁵ Clerk to Government, 4th November (Ind. Sec. Cons., 23rd November 1840, No. 67).

Nihal Singh intrigued with the enemies of Shah Shuja, as he wrote :

“ I have observed no appearances that indicate any disposition on the part of the Sikhs to receive with satisfaction news from Cabul unfavourable to the security of our interests there.”¹

Only in regard to its Swat and Buner claims did the Darbar remain obstinate. It complained of the Shah's interference in the disputed territory. The arguments it had first advanced were repeated on many occasions and were later supported by two others. The contested territory had never been in the possession of the Shah's predecessor, and the Shah had agreed in 1838 to take only those territories “ from which Cabul derived its revenue at the present time.”²

This was the position when on 5th November 1840 Kharak Singh died and the Kunwar was mortally wounded. The ten or twelve weeks which followed were crowded with events and intrigues which led to the establishment of Sher Singh's position as Maharaja. Luckily however, internal dissensions did not interfere with the smooth conduct of business relating to the British troops and convoys. On the deaths of Kharak Singh and the Kunwar, the Darbar appears to have become apprehensive of British forces and preparations. But no effort was made to retard the movements of Shelton's brigade. On the other hand, Dhian Singh and his rival councillors, in this as well as other matters, showed prompt attention. After Shelton's brigade had passed, one convoy left on 8th December and another in the middle of January following. Dost Muhammad was conveyed prisoner to the Punjab escorted by a returning brigade. The desire to please the British Government was equally shown in the Darbar's willingness to grant jagirs to the Barakzais further away from the line of the Jhelum and by change in its former attitude towards the disputed areas in Swat and Buner.³

Internal affairs chiefly occupied the attention of Maharaja Sher Singh in the first few months of his reign. The Sindhanwalas attempted to undermine his power by intriguing with the British.

¹ Clerk to Government, 8th October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 26th October 1840, No. 114).

² Same to same, 22nd October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 9th November 1840, No. 128).

³ Punjab Intelligence, 23rd Nov. (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th Dec. 1840, No. 87).

The troops mutinied in various parts of the country and exhibited very undisciplinatory conduct. These difficulties together with the shortage of money obliged him to recognize the influence of Dhian Singh and his brother, even though at heart he wished to lower rather than raise the position of his Dogra minister. He understood that the security of his tenure depended considerably on the good will of the British Government. He therefore did everything to facilitate the passage of the British Kafilas and travellers through the Punjab and when the Kabul insurrection occurred later in the year, he attempted to be helpful in every way. Perhaps at times he shared the fears with others that the British might invade the Punjab while the Sikh forces were busy in the north-west. At other times it was believed that British policy would now become more conciliatory towards the native powers, especially the Sikhs. But on the whole Sher Singh's faith in the power of the British was not shaken. He had his difficulties; money was short and the mutinous troops disinclined to march to Peshawar unless paid. Again, the trouble in Hazara was not yet suppressed, and Raja Ghulab Singh was more anxious to direct his energies towards Ladakh than Peshawar.¹

Still the Darbar set about the business in right earnest. Avitabile was ordered to march from Peshawar with two Mohammedan and two Ramgol battalions and help Mackeson and Henry Lawrence, who had been specially appointed to supervise and expedite the Sikh aid. But fearing that the Najibs, who were due for relief, might not obey orders, the Darbar had advised the Governor to lure them with rewards and the usual batta beyond Jamrud, and, if they would not march further, to advance with Kesri Singh's sowars and General Mehtab Singh's battalions which would soon be in Peshawar. He was also required to leave about one thousand troops in Peshawar until Sher Singh and Fateh Singh Man arrived there with *Misildari* troops to hold the place.²

¹ Clerk to Maddock, 27th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 114).

² Punjab Intelligence, 4th to 10th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd January 1842, No. 117). Punjab Intelligence, 12th to 16th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 114). Purwanas from the Lahore Darbar to Avitabile, 8th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd January, 1842, No. 120), and 1st January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 24th January 1842, No. 58).

Sher Singh was sincere and there was no truth in the rumour that, while he had ordered Avitabile to render help he had secretly instructed the commandants not to march.¹ But there is no doubt that the Darbar's orders were being carried out very slowly. On the receipt of a letter from Clerk, the Maharaja made further efforts to co-operate. The necessary roads and bridges were constructed and stores and troops were despatched. The local authorities at Firozpur were ordered to pass British Kafilas and stores without reference to Lahore.²

Since Sale at Jallalabad was demanding the advance of the Sikh contingent with Col. Wild's Brigade, the Commander-in-Chief ordered Wild to advance if the risk was not too great, and hoped that the establishment of a strong post at Ali Masjid would prove helpful to General Pollock in his advance afterwards.³ Strangely enough, Wild had brought no artillery with him, and he could not advance until the Sikhs supplied the four guns they had promised and the required contingent. But the contingent could not be made ready. Avitabile was willing to help, but he had no control over the troops. In fact, the troops threatened to shoot him if he persisted in taking them to Jamrud from where the march into the Khaibar was to begin.⁴ Mackeson readily obtained orders from Clerk to settle the claims of some of the troops who were disinclined to move without payment.⁵ Eventually the guns were obtained and the troops marched to Jamrud, but the prospect of an advance into the Khaibar was still remote. Remembering the hardships of 1839, the Sikh troops would appear to have been afraid of advancing into the Khaibar without adequate preparations. Moreover, the Najibs as Muslims were disinclined to fight. Camel drivers began to desert. The march, however, could no longer be delayed.

¹ Mackeson to Clerk, 20th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 73).

² Punjab Intelligence, 1st to 11th January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 31st January 1842, No. 74).

³ C-in-C. to G.-G. in Council, 27th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 87).

⁴ Mackeson to Clerk, 25th December 1841 (Idem., 17th January 1842, No. 66).

⁵ Same to same, 23rd December 1841 (Idem No. 29).

Ali Masjid was occupied on 15th January, and it was settled that Wild would march on the 18th with the Sikh troops who had meantime been won over by payments. Then Avitabile required a day's postponement to get provisions and carriage ready. On the morning of the 19th, however, when Wild marched towards the Khaibar, the Mussalman troops, some twelve hundred in number, struck their tents and marched into Peshawar whence they proceeded to Attock.¹

It is unnecessary to dwell on Wild's disaster. He was himself wounded in the face, and the British sepoys who had probably been disaffected by the spirit displayed by the Najibs, and their exaggerated stories of Afghan atrocities, did not face the heavy fire of the Khaibaris, and retreated abandoning one of the guns. Ali Masjid was consequently abandoned on the 24th.

About this time news arrived that the Kabul army had perished on its way to Jallalabad. Since there was no relief to be given to the Kabul force, Government decided in February 1842 to rescue the beleaguered Jallalabad force and then withdraw from Afghanistan altogether. It was also decided to concentrate the British forces on the Sutlej rather than at Peshawar, and to let the Sikhs make their own arrangements for the defence of the north-west, and to open negotiations for a fresh treaty with the Lahore Darbar.² J. C. Robertson, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Clerk addressed spirited letters to the Government opposing the above policy.

The Lahore Darbar cannot be accused of treachery, for its troops had now been out of control for about a year. The behaviour of the Najibs, even before the advance, had been objectionable. The Darbar's fault lay in not providing other troops more readily and the British political authorities at Peshawar had sacrificed normal considerations of safety to further the advance which was thought so necessary. The news of the Najib's flight depressed Sher Singh and Dhian Singh. Desiring to make amends, and finding that Avitabile

¹ Henry Lawrence to Clerk, Memorandum of occurrences from 16th to 30th January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 28th February 1842, No. 36).

² Maddock to Clerk, 10th February (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th February 1842, No. 64). (Secret Department).

had failed to exercise proper command, they urged Raja Gulab Singh and Kanwar Partab Singh to proceed from Hazara to Peshawar and to employ their troops in support of the Jallalabad relief force, now under Pollock.

General Pollock arrived at Peshawar on 5th February, 1842, but Raja Gulab Singh and the Kanwar did not join him till the middle of the month.¹ Still Pollock could not advance. The *morale* of the British Indian sepoys had been affected by their contact with the Sikhs, and over a thousand of them were in hospital, so that the advance to Jallalabad was delayed for over two months.

The situation at Peshawar was such that Pollock could not advance without the Sikhs, however little help he expected from them. While the Darbar was still anxious to support the British, it was ever sensible of the difficulties of the Khaibar situation. It emphasised to the Government the view that adequate military preparations should be made before further action.² It required Gulab Singh to co-operate with the British even if he disapproved of their plan of action, but, in the latter case, to take a certificate from the British officers recording his dissent from their decisions.³ On the one hand, Gulab Singh's own attention was fixed on Ladakh, on the other, his troops were reluctant to proceed into the Khaibar at nine rupees per mensem, while the British troops drew twelve rupees. Again the Sikh and Hindu troops were afraid of being taken and forcibly converted by the Mullahs.

The British authorities at Peshawar held interviews with Gulab Singh to find what help could be expected and in what manner it would be rendered. They learnt that Gulab Singh would not co-operate without some hope of reward. While they were busy at Peshawar, Clerk stayed at Lahore during March and April to promote the interests of the Afghan expedition. It was not easy for him to require help from the Darbar at the same time that he had to announce his

¹ The British authorities generally believed that Gulab Singh had purposely delayed his march, that his mild treatment of Najibs at Attock could not be viewed without suspicion and that his march to Peshawar had been accomplished in a leisurely manner.

² Punjab Intelligence, 26th February to 12th March, 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 30th March 1842, No. 98).

³ Lahore Darbar to Raja Gulab Singh, 15th February (Ind. Sec. Cons., 21st March, 1842, No. 89).

Government's decision to withdraw from Jallalabad. The latter task he left to Pollock and himself persuaded the Darbar to undertake to hold Ali Masjid and the Khaibar for a month or two. The Darbar was distinctly inclined to secure the passage of the Khaibar by diplomacy and negotiations rather than by the use of military force. Clerk believed that the Sikhs would not continue to hold the Khaibar except for reasons of self-interest; he therefore recommended that Pollock might be empowered to make over to the Sikhs the country between Peshawar and Jallalabad. At the same time Clerk communicated to Government a fantastic scheme which the Darbar had put before him as regards the future management of Afghanistan. Without adopting this, Government instructed Pollock to hand over the possession of Jallalabad to the Sikhs when the latter had made proper arrangements to hold the banks of the Kabul and the place itself. But Clerk was aware that the Sikhs would not take Jallalabad until Government had declared its future Afghan policy.

Gulab Singh left for Ladakh after making the necessary preparations for the Sikh advance, and in his absence, the work was carried on by Kanwar Partab Singh. After making the necessary arrangements Pollock advanced on 5th April. The Sikhs advanced by another route and joined the British at Ali Masjid. The combined forces reached Jallalabad on the 16th. The Sikh troops had advanced in such good spirits that Lawrence at once recommended that Clerk might express his satisfaction to the Darbar. The Darbar secured the further good opinion of Henry Lawrence by making adequate supplies of carriage and provisions, so that when the time arrived for Pollock to advance towards Kabul in the autumn, Lawrence suggested that a detachment of Sikh troops should be taken to Kabul to take part in chastising the Afghans. General Gulab Singh who had been sent to Jallalabad in June at the head of five thousand troops, accompanied Pollock's force to Kabul. The story of the advance of Pollock and Nott to Kabul, the punishment inflicted on the Afghans and the return of the forces through the Khaibar and the Punjab, interesting in itself, lies outside the scope of this paper. It may only be remarked that the Sikhs not only raised no difficulty in the way of the returning force, but provided it with every facility.

The punitive expedition of Pollock proved to be a great success. British prestige which had been shaken by the disasters of 1841-42 was once more restored. But what policy would the British Government adopt henceforward towards Afghanistan? The Tripartite Treaty had failed in many ways owing partly to its defective construction and chiefly to the varying political conditions of the Punjab and Afghanistan. The murder of Shah Shuja on 5th April ended the Treaty in any case. Government required Clerk on 27th May to enter into a new treaty with the Darbar. The territories of Lahore as detailed in clause I of the Tripartite Treaty would be recognised; the provisions regarding Shikarpur and Sind would be maintained; but the Darbar would be required to recognise the same sovereign in Afghanistan as the British Government would accept. Government was so particular as to the last condition, which would strengthen its hold on Afghanistan, that it instructed Pollock not to hand over Jallalabad until the new treaty had been formed.¹

The Darbar did not agree to the suggested clauses. It made other proposals by which Jallalabad, Swat, Buner and other territories were to be definitely included in clause I of the old Treaty, the Sind amirs were to be allowed to send *peshkash* and the passage of British troops through the Punjab was to conform to the old treaties. The proposal to recognise the same king in Afghanistan as was agreeable to the British Government was, if at all, dubiously accepted. Failing these, the Sikhs showed willingness to make a new treaty if they were allowed a hand in the future affairs of Afghanistan. Government did not agree to the Sikh proposals, but it directed Clerk to assure the Darbar that its independence would be respected and no passage would be demanded for troops except in circumstances similar to those of the past, and added that it hoped that the Darbar would then accord a friendly welcome.² Hoping that the negotiations for a new treaty might still succeed, Government instructed Clerk to ask the Darbar to be ready to occupy Jallalabad by the 21st September, but not to send up any forces until required. The intention was to keep the pass clear for Pollock's returning force. The Sikhs wanted

¹ Maddock to Clerk, 22nd July (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd August, 1842, No. 20).

² Government to Clerk, 29th July (Idem. 31st August 1842, No. 54).

Jallalabad, but not without knowing what policy the British Government had adopted towards Afghanistan. Their own arrangements would depend on the maintenance of a British force in that country. This was highly illogical, as, on the one hand, they welcomed the prospect of occupying Jallalabad with a British force in the neighbourhood, on the other, they disliked the idea of providing the British troops with a permanent right of passage through the Punjab.

With the change of the situation in Afghanistan, the Government of India changed its views in August 1842. The power which was likely to be established in Afghanistan might be agreeable to the return of guns and exchange of prisoners, but it would strongly object to the cession of Jallalabad to the Sikhs. Government had favoured the idea of giving Jallalabad in spite of its being an act of "unmitigated hostility" to the Afghans, as the only course then open to it of formulating its Afghan policy. In view of the changed circumstances, therefore it ceased to press the matter upon the Sikhs, who were so slow in coming to a decision that Pollock demolished the fortifications of Jallalabad before the news of their agreement reached him. It was indeed fortunate that the Sikhs did not obtain any new territories which would have entangled their affairs hopelessly. This was undoubtedly the view of the Governor-General, for as early as the previous May, he had caused his sentiments to be conveyed to Maharaja Sher Singh in the following terms:—

"But as a true friend of the Lahore Government, the Governor-General would not advise it to engage in new designs for the acquisition of territory beyond the Indus, and at the same time to project conquests beyond the Himalayas."¹

The future of Anglo-Sikh policy towards Afghanistan was unsettled when the Army of the Indus returned through the Punjab after its victories in Afghanistan, the Sikh forces following them at a certain distance. In spite of his good-will and general friendliness, Sher Singh had shared with others unnecessary suspicions of the British intentions. The Afghan War had been distasteful to the Sikh sardars ;

¹ Government to Clerk, 26th May (Ind. Sec. Cons., 2nd November, 1842, No. 30A).

it had strained the resources of the state and had weakened the independence of the Khalsa by the constant passage of British troops through the Punjab. The completion of the campaign gave Sher Singh a sense of relief, although he could not feel entirely at ease till the British army had passed through the Punjab and the pageantry at Firozpur and his interview with the Governor-General were over. These fanciful fears were chiefly excited by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, though Dhian Singh was not slow to emphasise to the Maharaja the necessity for caution in his interview with the Governor-General. Above all, the Sikh army was highly suspicious, and the soldiers vowed vengeance on Sher Singh if he yielded on any point during the interview. In such an atmosphere of doubt and suspicion, the Sikh deputation under Lehna Singh went to visit the Governor-General at Ludhiana. Through a misunderstanding, for which Fakir Aziz-ud-Din seems to have been much to blame, the deputation did not actually present itself.¹ Lord Ellenborough was greatly incensed at this insult. The Lahore Darbar apologised and made amends by showing marks of disfavour to the chiefs who had formed the deputation, and nominated others to interview the Governor-General at Firozpur.² The Governor-General accepted the apology, interviewed Prince Partab Singh, Raja Dhian Singh and others, but cancelled the Maharaja's interview, at which Sher Singh was much relieved, as he had but reluctantly prepared for the occasion.

The Darbar had entered into no agreement with the British Government regarding a new ruler in Afghanistan. However, in February 1843 when Dost Muhammad passed through Lahore on his way to Kabul, the Darbar entered into an engagement with him.³ The Sikhs included the British Government in this without the latter's authority, in order to show that the alliance was not against the Government. Dost Muhammad recognised the right of the Sikhs to Swat, Buner and Bajaur which had been discussed so much by the British acting on behalf of the Shah. Clerk believed that the treaty

¹ Punjab Intelligence, 24th January (Ind. Sec. Cons., 22nd February, 1843, No. 48).

² Sher Singh to Clerk received on 24th December, 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 18th January, 1843, No. 14).

³ cf. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Book IV, Part III, p. 6).

had bound the Sikhs and the Afghans "by a rope of sand," and neither of the parties meant to observe it.

This brings the subject of the first Afghan War to a close. To sum up, Ranjit Singh could not have left a more trying situation behind him. He left his successors encumbered with a war and ill-fated to carry out the heavy responsibilities entailed by the Tripartite Treaty the defective construction of which proved to be a prolific source of much fruitless discussion. The Afghan War undoubtedly added to the strain to which Ranjit's whole work was subjected. It certainly lessened mutual respect and friendship between the two powers and later, produced an atmosphere of ill-will which was intensified later by discussions of the indefinite Cis-Sutlej position.

THE VOICE OF HISTORY FROM LIVING LIPS
OR
THE TRACES OF ALEXANDER'S PRESENCE IN THE
PABBI HILLS (PANJAB).

BY RAM CHAND MANCHANDA.

[Paper read on 17th March 1932].

Ever since the discovery of the mention of the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great in classical literature, great interest has been excited in the subject and pains have been taken to ascertain and fix the various Punjab tribes and places mentioned therein. There has always existed room for difference of opinion on many points, and it still exists. Even the site of the memorable battlefield where the foreign invader triumphed over the local Raja Porus has not been agreed upon.

Strange as it may appear, the Hindu, the Jain and the Buddhist literatures are altogether silent on this great event and very naturally the Indian critical mind feels sceptical as to the truth of the classical references. It is impossible that such an important event should have gone entirely out of the memory of the people who were associated with it. Such entire forgetfulness in the traditions of the people living in the locality is not believable. The object of this paper is to show that the traces of this great event still exist in the memory of the people. In March 1930 I availed of the Easter holidays and wandered about in the Pabbi Hills in Gujrat District and was not little astonished to find that people living in these hills, still not only preserve the memory of Alexander's presence in their country but one of the tribes goes so far as to set up the audacious claim of direct descent from him. My object in writing this paper is to draw attention to this field, wherein historical materials in buried mounds, coins and traditions are likely to be gathered, which may confirm the correctness of the classical references.

According to the Greek historians Alexander was encamped on the right bank of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) before he attacked Porus after crossing the stream. There is a mound of ruins of an ancient city to the west of the present town, on which now stands the railway station. When the foundations for the station buildings were being excavated, the mound yielded the following materials of great historical value :—

1. Three iron tripods of Greek fashion.
2. Two brass balls.
3. One complete stone pillar.
4. Twenty-three pillar bases.

These finds were only an accidental discovery. There is reason to believe that the mound contains materials of far greater historical value. The dimensions of the mound and the nature of the materials clearly indicate that the city which lies buried in it should have been a great imperial city. Now the classical references show that Alexander ordered the foundation of the great city to be laid to commemorate his famous charger *Bukephalos* at the place where the animal died and the king had his camp. Though local tradition is entirely silent as to what the city was, when, and why it was built and how it came to be destroyed, the probabilities are that this mound of ruins locally called the *Pind* is the ruined city of *Bukephala*. It was probably a fortified place and commanded the passage of the river and so a place of great political, military and administrative importance. Classical references further show that the victory was also commemorated in the shape of a city at the battlefield which was on the eastern side of the river and it was called *Nikaia*. Surely this must be a city not far away from the sister city *Bukephala* and worthy of the great event. Antiquarians have divided themselves into two schools of opinion, one asserting that the "city of victory" was at Mong, 30 miles below Jhelum, the other asserting that it should be somewhere to the north-east of it. There are extensive ruins at Besa Khurd covering an area of 52 acres, out of which are excavated well burnt bricks of large size, $12 \times 12 \times 3$. The villagers round about, whenever they feel the necessity of bricks for building purposes, quarry at the Besa mound and

excavate as many bricks as they like. According to their notion there lies an inexhaustible mine of bricks. The traces of wells at short intervals were also discovered in the area of this mound, showing that they were inside the city, used for water-supply. Stone materials with holes to fasten metal clamps were also found lying there. I myself found the work of excavation of bricks going on and picked up a specimen brick which has been niched in the Central Museum, Lahore, along with other specimen of large sized bricks collected from the various other ancient mounds of ruins.

This mound is on the road to Bhimber, 10 miles east of Jhelum on the bank of the Jaba stream left side of the Jhelum. This place is of great historical interest and in its womb lies valuable evidence bearing on the invasion of Alexander the Great. Occasionally people pick up coins, though I could not secure one.

I was astonished to find well-known tradition extant at the place, which I believe is of some value. The tradition is quoted by almost everybody at Besa in one form or another which is noted below :—

“ Ittan gharian Bulhe kumhare ”

“ Shah Sikander Zulkernain de ware.”

This rendered in plain English reads :—

Bhulah, the brick-maker, made these bricks in the time of Alexander the Zulkernain. Now Zulkernain was the title assumed by Alexander the Macedonian to set up a claim to his descent from the God Zeus, who according to Greek mythology appears on earth in the form of a two-horned bull. The word Zulkernain in Arabic means two-horned. Now this tradition clearly attributes the introduction of the bricks found at the mound to Alexander the Great.

The other version :—

“ Ittan kharian Baleh kumhare ”

“ Shah Sikander Zulkernain de bare ”

which rendered in English means :—Good bricks, excellent brick-maker from the watch-tower of Alexander the Zulkernain.

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness nor the antiquity of this tradition, as it would not pay the people of the locality to forge a spurious one.

There are two villages entirely built of these bricks, viz., Besa Kalan and Besa Khurd close to this mound, and the bricks which they obtain at a little labour and cost bear a deep impression on their minds, and so enable them to preserve the tradition from generation to generation. These I believe to be the ruins of the city of victory 'Nikaia.'

The mound itself is called *Pati koti* or Pata Kothi, but generally the former, and the tradition is that it was built by Alexander to celebrate the defeat of Porus. And there is another tradition current, which has also some vague reference to a great historical event, that left a lasting impression on the minds of the people.

“ *Pati koti Besman Dhani Samundron par* ”

“ *Per je shoh loren apna Jhelum Ghat sambhal* ”

which rendered in English means: *Pati Koti Besman* is across the seas of Dhani, and if you want to see your real husband come to Jhelum Ferry.

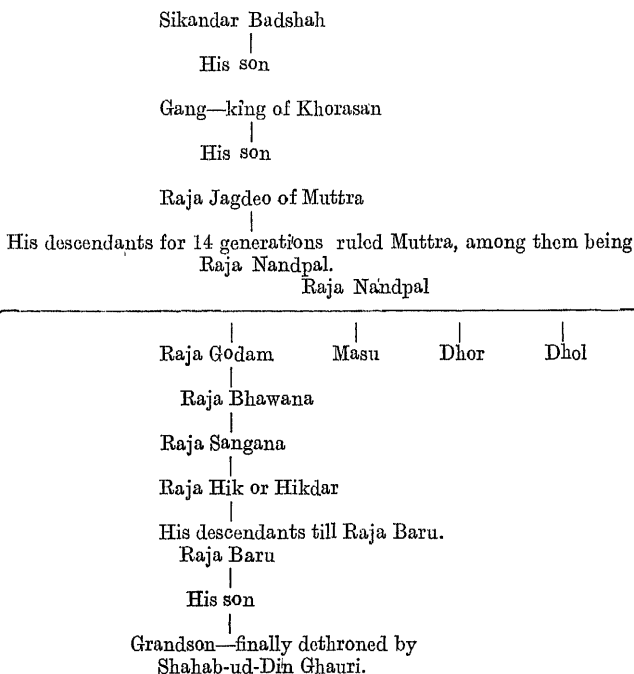
Now Besa, the name of the existing village, is an abbreviation of Besman; its Sanskrit form would be Vesman (lofty). *Pati Koti Vesman* would mean the lord of a million lofty castles and this would be an Indian equivalent of Alexander's title as “ *universal king*.”

Such are the local traces pointing to Alexander's presence in this part of the Punjab.

There is another ruined mound called Kariali in the same vicinity and there is a tomb called *Khartan Balan*. These names appear to be Greek ones in Indianized form. Still more interesting is the claim of an important tribe inhabiting the Kharian Tahsil of the Gujrat District with their chief village at Barnali, as to their being the direct descendants of Alexander the Great. This tribe is called *Hakla* and they have preserved their traditional pedigree, which has lately been put in a ballad by Mir Jamal Panjorana. According to this tradition

Alexander married a Rajput princess of the locality and the union yielded the following descendants:—

Genealogical tree of the Hakla tribe.



There are other minor traces in the same neighbourhood. Considered alone they possess very little historical value, but collectively they confirm the classical references as to Alexander's presence in that part of the Punjab, and his laying the foundations of two cities Bukephala and Nikaia and possibly his marriage with an Indian Princess. All these cannot be looked upon as mere forgeries concocted to please modern European antiquarians. Personally I feel inclined to believe that these traditions existed before the discovery of

the classical references to Alexander's Indian invasion and if carefully studied they are likely to yield good results.

I feel prone to join the minority school, asserting that Bukephala was built at Jhelum and Nikaia at Pati Koti Besa and not at Dilawara or Mong Rasul, as the majority school assert, some 30 miles lower down, as such is the voice of history from living lips.

URDU JOURNALISM IN THE PANJAB.

BY BOOL CHAND, HINDU COLLEGE, DELHI.

Probably the *Sayyad-ul-Akhbar* was the earliest Urdu newspaper which appeared in Delhi in 1837. It was started by Syed Mohammad Khan, the elder brother of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. But he was not able to serve the paper for long, because he died of cholera while quite in his youth. After his death the editorship of the paper fell to the hands of his younger brother, who did brilliant work for some time, but later on suspended its publication for want of time, as he was at this time busy writing a book called *Asar-ul-Sanadid*. Another paper also, the Urdu *Delhi Akhbar*, started at Delhi in 1838. This was edited by Moulvi Mohammad Baqar, father of Maulana Mohammad Hussain Azad of the Government College, Lahore. The Moulvi came of a very respectable family, and was the leader of a certain sect of the Sunnis. The paper seems to have been quite popular. Very often some of its sentences would pass into the current language of the town in the form of proverbs. But the paper stopped publication in 1857 in the days of the Mutiny. A third paper started at Delhi was edited by Professor Ram Chandra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.* It was called, *The Fawaid-i-Nazarin* and in this the learned professor gave certain hints as to how newspaper contributions should be written. The professor later made his mark by solving certain very enigmatic problems in Mathematics, and these solutions have found acceptance even in Europe. In 1846, there was started another paper, *Quran-ul-Saadin*, edited by Pandit Dharam Narain, the Mir Munshi of the Resident of Indore, which continued with vigour for about twelve years.

Though it is possible to count a few stray names of Urdu newspapers before 1850, yet the history of Urdu journalism in the

*Prof. Ram Chandra also started another paper, the *Muhibbi-i-Hind*, which continued for several years.

Panjab really begins in Lahore, on the 14th January, 1850, the day of the appearance of the *Koh-i-Noor*, the first regular paper of the modern type. The *Koh-i-Noor* was started by Munshi Harsukh Rai, a Kayasth of Sikanderabad in the United Provinces who came to Lahore about this time. In Lahore he was for a long time a member of the local Municipal Committee, and seems to have been quite an important person; his name occurs in the list of the Raises of Lahore given by Syed Abdul Latif in his book on that city.* I was able to procure two files of the *Koh-i-Noor* for the years 1850 and 1851. The paper was a weekly, and was published on every Monday. It consisted of 8 pages of 12 × 8 inches.

The subscription rates were—

Yearly Rs. 13/-

Half-yearly Rs. 8/-

Monthly Rs. 2/8

but there was discrimination in the case of the native chiefs, from whom higher prices were charged, in some cases amounting to Rs. 50/-. This was really a sort of blackmailing, and this vicious habit has continued in the Urdu Press of the Punjab even to this day. The *Koh-i-Noor* was primarily an organ for the circulation of news, official or otherwise. "There were no editorial leaders, or comments, no discussion of any current topics, political or other, no advertisements except about some new book in vernacular; certainly no trace whatever of the indecent advertisement of medicines or of objectionable literature, with which some of our present-day newspapers teem; no religious controversies or party politics. It was literally a newspaper, containing rules, acts and notifications (appointments and dismissals of Government servants) copied from the *Government Gazette*; some news of the world taken from English newspapers, some statistics, interspersed occasionally by some query and an answer on some literary subject."† It is a noticeable feature of the paper that every item of information is headed "Information about——", for instance خبر کان نمک - خبر گورنر جنرل - خبر لہنو

*Pp. 327, 341.

†The "*Kohinoor*" of 1851. Shiv Narain, Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Volume IV, p. 52.

The modern system of giving a suitable informatory heading to every piece of news had no counterpart in the *Koh-i-Noor* of 1850 and 1851.

The paper established its position very soon after its appearance. It was the first Urdu paper of its kind, not only in the Punjab, but in the whole of India. The paper was popular even in the Native States. On various occasions, festivals, etc., the Indian Rajas used to invite the editor. But in spite of everything the circulation of the *Koh-i-Noor* could not have been above a few hundred. It was the custom with this paper to publish after every two months the names of its fresh subscribers. At the end of 1850, we count 257 subscribers. This low circulation was due primarily to the extraordinarily low percentage of education, and the lack of general interest in the public. But the *Koh-i-Noor* laboured under another difficulty peculiar to itself. It did not command the confidence of the nobility of Lahore, who had somehow conceived the impression that the *Koh-i-Noor* was a seditious paper, and that contributions to it were resented by the Government. It seems inexplicable, however, why the public should have taken such an attitude, when the Board of Administration itself and many officials, both European and Indian, were among its enthusiastic supporters. The names of Sir John Lawrence, Lieut. Innes, Messrs. McLeod, Sleeman, and McGregor stand out prominently in the list of subscribers. The paper was read not only in the Punjab, but also at such distant places as Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In 1857 the Sepoy Mutiny broke out and it became clear that the native press, if unchecked, would become the organ of treason. It had already manifested a bad spirit. "With one exception," says the Punjab Administration Report for the year, "the editors were all Hindustanis, and as the disaffection had been greatest among the Hindustanis, so the Government saw the necessity of establishing over every one of them strict censorship by means of the District Officers. At Peshawar one native editor was imprisoned, one press was stopped at Sialkot, and one at Multan." I could not procure any newspapers or magazines of the years of the Mutiny, in spite of all my search. It is, therefore, only to be presumed how the general ignominy under which the Hindustanis had fallen might have affected the *Koh-i-Noor*, whose proprietor, Munshi Harsukh Rai,

and the rest of the staff were predominantly Hindustani. The career of this paper must have been tremendously chequered* during all these years, but it is to the credit of its editor that the paper regained its hold on the public as soon as the censorship of the press was abolished in 1865 and the normal state of affairs as regards journalism was established. From weekly the paper became bi-weekly, and later on tri-weekly. For about three months in 1888 it became even a daily; but this was only in the nature of an experiment which did not succeed. After 1890 the star of the *Koh-i-Noor* began to wane. Munshi Harsukh Rai, the energetic proprietor and editor, who had been growing old for some time, at last died. After his death the paper was carried on by his adopted son, Munshi Jagat Narain, but shortly afterwards he also died. The burden of working the newspaper then fell upon the widow. It continued to appear as a weekly till 1904.

In the *Koh-i-Noor* we find references to certain other Urdu papers that were appearing at the time. The *Koh-i-Noor*, when it copied from other newspapers, always recognised the source of its information. The following names of vernacular newspapers (besides English ones) occur in it:—1. *Majma-ul-Akhbar* of Bombay. 2. *Aftab-i-Alamtab* of Madras. 3. *Akhbar-i-Malwa* of Malwa. 4. *Talim-i-Khaliq* of Allahabad. 5. *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Calcutta. 6. *Amidat-ul Akhbar* of Bareilly. 7. *Zabdat-ul-Akhbar* of Agra.

Among the Punjab journals, we notice the names of—1. *Quran-ul-Saidan* and *Umdat-ul-Akhbar* at Delhi. 2. *Dehli Gazette*. 3. *Riaz-ul-Akhbar* at Sialkot. 4. *Darya-i-Noor* at Lahore. 5. *Simla Akhbar* at Simla. 6. *Nur-ul-Noor* at Ludhiana. Of all these names the most prominent is that of the *Darya-i-Noor*, which appeared with the *Koh-i-Noor* in the same year and the same building. But it seems to have come to an inglorious end very soon after with the death of its editor, Fakir Siraj-ud-Din. It is a very strange fact about the earlier Urdu papers in the Punjab that they

*It seems the *Koh-i-Noor* was not a victim of the 1857 Mutiny, as Mr. B. M. Dattatrya of Delhi is in the habit of announcing the fall of Delhi the *Koh-i-Noor* which was not to that effect.

It may be of interest to note that the *Koh-i-Noor* bears the name of Mr. Newul Kishore (afterwards the famous owner of the well-known Newul Kishore Press of Lucknow) as manager of the *Koh-i-Noor* Press. One cannot say when he joined the *Koh-i-Noor* management.

seldom survived the death of their originators. Very rarely do we meet with anything in the nature of an organised effort. Always some enterprising spirit started a paper on his own strength. In the whole of the Panjab I am told there is only one newspaper, the *Bande Matram*, that is owned by a joint-stock company at the present day. Lately the proprietor of the *Tej* in Delhi thought of forming a similar organisation; but I do not know whether it has fructified. Another contemporary of the *Koh-i-Noor*, a peculiarly characteristic newspaper of the period was the *Akhbar-i-Chashma-i-Faiz* (now the *Victoria Paper*) of Sialkot. The *Akhbar-i-Chashma-i-Faiz* was started by Rai Diwan Chand in 1853 at Lahore. Under the "Gagging" Act of 1857 its publication was prohibited; but after the Mutiny the paper reappeared at Sialkot under the title of the *Victoria Paper*, and with that name it continues to appear even to this day. It is conducted at present by R. B. Diwan Gian Chand, and can hardly be termed a modern journal at all, for it gives little else than a translation of the *Government Gazette*. It is only a relic of those by-gone days.

In 1870 there appeared at Lahore a new Urdu weekly, the *Akhbar-i-Am*, which introduced a fresh element in the vernacular journalism of the day. It would be remembered that the vernacular papers so far had been fairly costly: the *Koh-i-Noor* had cost Rs. 13/-. The people therefore could not generally afford to buy these papers. The starters of the *Akhbar-i-Am* thus marked an event by fixing its annual subscription at Rs. 2/8 at a time when the vernacular newspaper postage had not yet come down to one pice. The founder of the *Akhbar-i-Am* was a Kashmiri Pandit, Mukand Lal, who had served as a calligraphist for the *Koh-i-Noor*. Having left the *Koh-i-Noor* he started a Hindi paper, *Mitra Vilas*, devoted mainly to the affairs of Kashmir State and to advocating the rights of the Kashmiri Pandit class. But he felt a great need of a paper which should express its views on the current topics of the day, and therefore started the *Akhbar-i-Am* in 1870. The *Akhbar-i-Am* was a small paper appearing on four ordinary-sized pages. It had a great peculiarity which it retains even to this day (because the *Akhbar-i-Am* is still alive), that it

published on its first page one-line news and brief comments upon them. These comments were sometimes good, at others bad, but they are almost always irrelevant. To give an example :

شملة میں کل روز سات انچ بارش ہوئی۔ کہا خوب !

Yet the birth of the *Akhbar-i-Am* marked an important epoch in the history of Urdu Journalism in the Panjab. I have gone through a number of files of the *Akhbar-i-Am*, and one thing that has struck me is the tremendous amount of news that this paper gave. It published the latest news of the time not only about India but also about the foreign countries. Most of the local papers depended upon it for their news, and in its issue of the 19th January, 1908, the *Akhbar-i-Am* proudly boasts that even the premier Anglo-Indian paper of Northern India, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, recently copied the "China Letter" from the *Akhbar-i-Am*. This certainly is a great achievement for an Urdu paper, especially because some of the present-day news-agencies had not sprung up at that time. The *Akhbar-i-Am* was never known for good Urdu. As a matter of fact, none of the Panjab papers has ever gained any reputation for its language, but especially the *Akhbar-i-Am*. In one of its issues the *Akhbar-i-Am* offers a plea for its bad language. Its main argument is that the *Akhbar-i-Am* was first of all a newspaper, and that language is only of subordinate consideration with it. This argument was jeered at in those days, when the newspapers generally indulged in wordiness and ornateness of language ; but I believe that the argument is quite sound. What is required of a modern newspaper is that it should be able to give a clear description of things so as not to be misinterpreted. But the language of the *Akhbar-i-Am* was at times not even clear. To give an example :

لندن - مسٹر سکات مرے اور ر ایم ہکسچے کل رات کو برسٹل کی دعوت میں اڑبن میں مہمان تھے -

This is a translation of a telegram from London, but what it means exactly I fail to understand. How could the two gentlemen be present at Bristol and Lisbon, places so far apart, on the same day ? Yet the *Akhbar-i-Am* made a great contribution to the progress of Urdu journalism. By using cheap paper it popularised the vernacular press

and made it possible for Urdu papers to reach the hands even of average-incomeed people. Even from the journalistic point of view it was a paper of high mark. Its horizon was very broad, and though it did not habitually write editorials, yet it made it a rule to make editorial comments when something of importance happened. But the *Akhbar-i-Am* is to be considered only as a break from the path. Urdu journalism as a whole is still in a very crude stage. The predominating tone was that of flattery of the Government, subservience to officials, and undue praise of rulers, princes and aristocrats. In every issue there used to be small flimsy rhymes, and in this line there would spring up competition among the various papers. Most of the papers were given to attacking each other, and sometimes would go to awful lengths, not hesitating even to use obscene language. The articles were generally about festivals, seasons, or about the history of some word in the language; comparatively little interest was shown in the dissemination of news.

When Urdu journalism was already suffering with all these maladies, there fell upon it the wrath of the Government in the form of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. According to this Act the printer and publisher of any vernacular paper could be called upon to enter into a bond not to publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government or antipathy between persons of different races, castes and religions among His Majesty's subjects. If a newspaper contained any matter of the description just mentioned, it was to be warned, and if it repeated the offence, its plant was to be seized. Any newspaper, however, could escape the operation of the act by submitting to a prescribed form of Government censorship. The Act was severely criticised by all who had any weight of opinion outside the small circle of its framers. In Parliament it was denounced as unnecessary, impolitic and severe. No doubt some of the vernacular papers had shown a certain amount of lawlessness in their writings. Sir J. A. Arbuthnot, member of the Viceroy's Council, has given certain examples. "One of the objects of the English authorities in maintaining and enhancing the Salt Tax is to enable their own countrymen to import English salt in this country, and to enrich them at the cost of the natives." "All laws are

applicable to Indians alone, and not to Europeans. Europeans are allowed to kill natives with perfect impunity." "The British Government is like a beautiful maiden whose charms are irresistible, but who is cunning, deceitful, and cruel at heart. All men are in love with her : now she lends her graces to one lover, now to another, and thus causes the rivals to fight together and perish." But after all, the vernacular press exerted no great influence on the public : its circulation was almost insignificant. And as the framers of the Act themselves admitted, the class of persons who were likely to be affected by these writings in the newspapers was not big enough to be a source of danger. But apart from the fact that it curtailed the liberty of the press, the obvious criticisms of the Act were, (I) that it was invidious to apply the provisions to vernacular papers only and not to papers written in English, and (II) that it was not likely to prove really effective. This latter criticism proved an accurate prophecy. During the four years of its existence the Act was never once fully put into force. In 1877 there were 34 printing presses in existence in the Panjab, almost every big town of the province possessing one. The Act brought down the number by 5. The decrease is not very alarming, but the vernacular press undoubtedly remained in a stagnant condition for about half a dozen years after the passage of the Act.

It is not till 1888 that we see the birth of another important Urdu paper in the Panjab. In that year was started the famous *Paisa Akhbar* of Munshi Mahbub Alam.* With the advent of the *Paisa Akhbar* Urdu journalism enters upon its modern phase. The articles of the *Paisa Akhbar* were not, like those of the older Urdu papers, devoted to the praises of Winter and Summer and the poetic disputes between pen and sword, but glowed with real public interest and were of enormous constructive value. The *Paisa Akhbar* adopted from its very start a size which almost every newspaper has since adopted. And then, the price of the *Paisa Akhbar* was fixed very low. It was sold in the beginning at the rate of a pice per issue. That is why it was called *Paisa Akhbar*. But though its price was so cheap, yet it was the first Urdu paper which succeeded in making journalism a paying concern. All Urdu papers

* The *Paisa Akhbar* took its birth at Gujranwala, but was later on transferred to Lahore.

ere now had been working at a loss ; the *Paisa Akhbar* was the first to live of its own. How it managed to do so is a secret of modern journalism. It is one's common experience to-day to see Urdu papers full of advertisements from all quarters of the world ; but there was a time when nobody liked to advertise in Urdu papers, because their circulation was very limited. This is a great achievement of the *Paisa Akhbar*, that it reaped large profits from its advertisements. The *Akhbar-i-Am*, of which the *Paisa Akhbar* was a rival, jeeringly mentions of the *Paisa Akhbar* how sometimes it promised to publish an advertisement for a year for only a rupee, and at others to go on publishing it throughout its life for a small fixed sum of money. But in whatever light the *Akhbar-i-Am* may take it, certain it is that the *Paisa Akhbar* set a new example in the world of Urdu journalism by making it a lucrative profession, chiefly through the agency of advertisements. In the beginning the *Paisa Akhbar* was very irregular in its publication. Sometimes it would not appear for two or three turns consecutively. This irregularity in its publication led a certain contemporary to make a humorous remark.

تین ہفتے غائب رہ کر آخر پیسہ اخبار اپنے اندوں بچوں سمیت آ موجود ہوا۔

The *بچے* refers to the other small papers which were being edited by the editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, e.g. *رسالہ کلید امتحان* - *باغبان*. But though the *Paisa Akhbar* was so irregular in the beginning, and though its paper, printing and articles had a look of destitution and poverty about them, yet its prospects seemed very bright. It appeared at the right moment, because some of the Lahore papers were distinctly on their decline at this time. This opportunity Maulvi Mahbub Alam was very quick to catch. In order to make his paper popular he gave his attention to the idea that was agitating the public mind, and made it the mission of his life to help on the progress of education. He insisted on the educational value of the Urdu press, and advocated that it was not sufficient for the editor of an Urdu paper to be able to read and write merely the Urdu language. He must know English also. Probably it was due to this propaganda of Maulvi Mahbub Alam that the editors of almost all Urdu papers to-day are people who have some English degree or other.

But even more than what M. Mahbub Alam was able to do directly for Urdu journalism he did indirectly for it through his personal example. In the year 1900 the Maulvi went to Europe in order to study western journalism. This was the first time that an Urdu editor made a voyage westwards for that purpose. From Europe the Maulvi kept on writing for his paper articles which were read with great interest by the public. Later these articles were published in book form سفرنامہ یورپ, for which the Punjab Government most graciously gave him a gift of Rs. 400. And when the Maulvi came back, he was received on the station by a number of friends and acquaintances. All these were small things, but they must have combined to produce a glamour round the name of the editor of an Urdu paper, and must have popularised his calling. Besides, there is another aspect of the service of M. Mahbub Alam to Urdu journalism. M. Mahbub Alam has generally been called ایڈیٹر گر ایڈیٹر i.e., editor-making editor. This is a happy appellation, since the *Paisa Akhbar* was a veritable training ground for many of the future editors of the province. The names of Lala Dina Nath later the editor of the *Hindustan*, Hakim Ghulam Nabi later the editor of *Al-Hukma*, Munshi Ahmad Din later the editor of the *Ghamkhwar-i-Alam*, Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq later the editor of the *Kashmiri*, Maulvi Shuja-ud-Dawla later the editor of the *Millat*, stand out prominent among those who had served their apprenticeship in this training school.

Before the century expired there was again a change in the Government's attitude towards vernacular press, which had so far been quite favourable. In 1882 the odious Vernacular Press Act had been repealed, and a few months later the vernacular press postage had been reduced from two pice to one. But after 15 years of peace there was now fresh trouble in 1896. In that year plague had broken out in Bombay Presidency, and the public mind was greatly agitated by the horrors of the grim disease as well as the strong policy adopted by the Government for stamping it out. The employment of European soldiers on plague duty in Poona was a colossal blunder, and naturally aroused a good deal of public dissatisfaction and resentment. Two European officers were shot dead in

Poona, and the Government thought that the murders were due to the violent writings in the press, and therefore prosecutions were instituted against Mr. Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari*, and a few other journalists who were all convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Not content with instituting successful press prosecutions, the Government wished to amend the law of sedition so as to bring it in harmony with the judicial decisions, and therefore made the following changes in the law affecting the press in 1898.

1. Section 124A of the Penal Code was amended. This section was meant to punish all speeches and writings that were calculated to excite feelings against the Government and hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people. But before amendment, its scope had been limited. It was generally accepted that, so long as a person did not suggest or intend to use force, he did not fall within this section. Now the scope was much broadened, and the section was applied to all cases where there was any intention to create a feeling of hatred and contempt against the Government.
2. A new Section 153A was introduced in the Penal Code to punish all attempts to promote enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.
3. A new Section 108 was introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code, which was designed to prevent the dissemination of seditious matter either orally or in writing by means of a system of personal security.
4. Section 505 of the Penal Code was amended.

It was under these handicaps that Urdu journalism in the Punjab entered into the 20th century, though otherwise it had already made great progress. The traditional literary character of Urdu newspapers had shown signs of change ; and the first decade of the century witnessed the appearance of three newspapers whose interest was, unlike the old papers, mainly political. Round these three papers the *Vatan*, the *Hindustan* and the *Zamindar* centred the activity of Urdu journalism in the Punjab before the beginning of the war. The first of these, the *Vatan*, was started by Moulvi Mohammad Insha Ullah in January 1902. The Moulvi had received his training in the *Vakil* of Amritsar, which was a sectarian paper of the Muslims. Therefore when he started the *Vatan* he tried to lead it on the same lines ; but realising that the public opinion was against sectarianism, he changed the

policy of the *Vatan* till by 1907 it became a purely political newspaper. The second paper, the *Hindustan*, was started by L. Dina Nath on 26th August 1904. He had served his apprenticeship in the *Paisa Akhbar* under M. Mahbub Alam, and thus was already a trained journalist. For the first four weeks the circulation of the *Hindustan* was limited to 13 copies, but L. Dina Nath did not lose courage and by the end of three years succeeded in making his paper the most widely circulated of all the Urdu newspapers of the Punjab. In 1907, L. Dina Nath was, however, prosecuted for the publication from his press of a pamphlet called "India," for which he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On an appeal to the High Court the sentence was reduced to 2 years. During his absence the paper was continued by L. Dina Nath's younger brother, but the quality had much degenerated, and it was not till October 1909 when L. Dina Nath resumed the editorship that the paper became important again. But L. Dina Nath's two years' sojourn in the jail was very bad for the paper, because when he came out his proclivities had become rather revolutionary, and when he resumed charge the tone of the paper became definitely extremist and virulent, a fact which ultimately brought about its ruin. But while L. Dina Nath was in jail, another paper, the *Zamindar*, had come into the limelight. The *Zamindar* had been started by Munshi Siraj-ud-Din at Wazirabad; but it became important only in 1909 when, on the death of the Munshi, the conduct of the paper was taken up by his talented son, Moulvi Zafar Ali, who had already worked as a translator in the Nizam's Government. Maulana Zafar Ali was so far, therefore, the first person to take to Urdu journalism after renouncing an honourable post. He was a B.A. of the Aligarh University, and these two facts must have combined to impart a sense of respectability to the profession of an Urdu journalist. In 1911 the Maulana shifted his paper to Lahore, and there took up the role of a critic of the prominent Hindu papers, thus gaining for his paper very early a position of importance which it might otherwise not have acquired even after a long time. But as soon as this position was gained, the *Zamindar* left alone religion, and devoted its attention to the politics of the country. It began by writing articles against the Indian Princes who had the bad habit of prohibiting from their

territory any newspaper which presumed to speak against the Government. But as the Balkan Wars broke out, it devoted its attention to the fate of Turkey and other Islamic countries, which it continued to do throughout the Great War.

But before we proceed further, we must stop for a moment to see the fresh measures taken by the Government against the Press. Certain features of Lord Curzon's administration, especially his Partition of Bengal, had excited some public indignation. As a result Indian politics had undergone rapid and unexpected changes. The Congress proclaimed the boycott of English goods as a retaliatory measure, and some ardent spirits even went to the length of declaring national independence to be the political goal of India. Probably they were helped in this attitude by the victory in 1905 of Japan, an oriental power, over Russia, a pre-eminent Western power. In these circumstances some of the papers did advocate and disseminate sedition. It was said that Government violated the law, and that it broke its promises. In the more violent papers the weaknesses of the English were remarked upon, and their inability to maintain their position in the world. In 1908 suddenly the whole world was shocked by the bomb-outrage in Muzaffarpur, and when one of the criminals in the case admitted that he had been incited to this course by the encouragement that he had received from the writings of certain papers, the Government thought it expedient to bring the press under control. Already provision had been made for the executive control of the platform in 1907. In 1908 was passed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. This was followed two years later by the Press Act of 1910. Even though controlled, however, the press continued its interest in political questions. The Punjab Administration Report for the years 1911-12 says: "The course of events in Morocco and Tripoli and in Persia engaged attention especially from Muslim papers. The treatment of Indians in the Colonies was a constant subject of comment, both Hindu and Muslim papers joining in their protest against the indignities to which their fellow-countrymen are alleged to have been subjected, especially in Natal and Mauritius. Legislation occupied a considerable amount of attention, and there is general approval of the proceedings of the Congress."

Nevertheless the Royal Visit evoked a chorus of loyal enthusiasm, and when the war broke out in 1914, it was at once resolved that all controversial matters must be held in abeyance, and England assured of the loyalty of India. The general attitude of the Press in its comments on the war may be said to have been on the whole satisfactory, though the tendency of certain newspapers to add to their circulation by the publication of sensational rumours necessitated the taking of action under the Press Act in several cases. But the war had some very important effects upon the development of journalism. It increased the number of readers, and led to an extension of newspaper circulation, especially in Urdu. And since the machinery of news propagation was naturally dislocated in such a crisis, Government, being better informed, started a paper called *Haq* in all the vernaculars of the Province in order to inform the public how the war was carrying on. The circulation figures of this paper, normally amounting to 70,000 and even exceeding that figure in the case of certain special issues, showed the stimulated interest of the public in newspaper reading. Thus aroused from lethargy the masses have never again gone to slumber. Though the cost of paper and printing had considerably gone up after the war, yet the newspapers did not suffer much in their circulation. The combined circulation of the whole Punjab Press was in 1917—246,000; in 1918—320,000; in 1919—342,000; in 1920—358,000. And to-day it about double that figure—594,000.

THE TREATY OF BHYROWAL OR SECOND TREATY OF LAHORE—DECEMBER, 1846.¹

By R. R. SETHI.

The Kashmir insurrection and the treachery of Raja Lal Singh led to a revision of the Treaty of March, 1846,² in a direction which the Governor-General—Lieut.-General Viscount Hardinge—had for some time past been contemplating.

Lord Hardinge's dispatches of September 1846, and of the following months to the Secret Committee of the East India Company show clearly his views of the past management of the Panjab; of the conduct of the Council and others; the necessity for a change; the ground for the new arrangements, and the steps by which they were introduced.³ Some extracts from these are here reproduced.

In a dispatch to the Secret Committee, dated at Simla, the 19th September 1846 (No. 39), after referring to such success as had been achieved, and dealing with the question of the retention of British troops in the Panjab, and his objections to the continued presence of British troops under the same administrative arrangements as heretofore, Lord Hardinge discusses the advisability of continuing the occupation of Lahore by British troops under modified arrangements. His suggestions for modified arrangements—which resulted in the new Treaty—were thus explained:—"The other course which it may be open to the British Government to take, and which has constantly occupied my attention, would be to carry on the Government at Lahore in the name of Maharaja Dalip Singh during his minority, a period of about eight years, placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a Native Council."

"The marked difference between the system of having the British Minister residing at Lahore, conducting the Government through native agency, and that which now prevails would amount to this:

¹ See *ante*, Volume I—"Revolt in Kashmir, 1846"—p. 10; and "Trial of Raja Lal Singh, 1846"—p. 113.

² Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore on March 9th, 1846. (First Treaty of Lahore).

³ Parliamentary Papers relating to the Article of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar on the 16th of December, 1846. (Presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Command of Her Majesty, March 1847).

that in the one case, our troops are made the instrument for supporting misrule, and in the other, by British interposition, justice and moderation are secured by an administration through native executive agency, in accordance with the customs, feelings, and prejudices of the people. If, therefore, the proposal of the Regent and Darbar should lead to an offer to carry on the Lahore Government by a British Minister, during the minority of the Maharaja—and the proposal should be confirmed by the influential Chiefs, publicly convoked for the deliberation of such a measure, I should be disposed to give the experiment a favourable consideration.”¹

The contingency contemplated above had now arrived.

On December 9, 1846, Frederick Currie, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, who was then in Lahore, laid before the Darbar a letter embodying the instructions of the Governor-General,² reminding them of the approaching departure of the British troops from Lahore, and asking them what arrangements they had made for the future. The receipt of this letter caused the greatest excitement at the Court, the majority of the Sardars being filled with alarm at the prospect before them on the withdrawal of the British troops from Lahore. Till within the last few days, no one had expressed a more anxious desire for the British to stay in Lahore than the Maharani; and, even on the day following that on which Raja Lal Singh was deposed from the Wazarat, when her grief was at its worst, she declared to Henry Lawrence, when he called on her, that she would leave the Panjab when they (the British) did.³

¹ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated at Simla, the 19th September 1846 (No. 39)—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

² Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 355, dated the 9th December 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

³ H. M. Lawrence writing to F. Currie on the subject in a letter, dated the 10th December 1846, says:—

“On the 5th evening I went and was received in full Darbar by the Maharaja, the Maharani being behind a cloth screen. All was decorum. Hearty thanks were offered to the Governor-General, Mr. Currie and myself for past kindness and care, and hopes expressed of the same being continued. The Maharani expressed herself personally pleased and anxious only to meet the Government wishes. She concluded by begging that as the Governor-General had, on a former occasion, taken her son's hand, I would now do so. I accordingly took the Maharaja's hand, and expressed my anxious desire to do all in my power to carry out the orders of Government for the sustainment of the Sikh Sovereign and the happiness of the Maharaja and his people. I remarked that I hoped I had already proved such to be my desire, and that as His Highness was now so formally made over to me, my endeavours on behalf of the Raj, should not be relaxed.”—Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 357.

A very short time had given a more active—perhaps, a more vindictive—turn to her inclinations, and during the last few days her whole energies had been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent Government, of which she herself was to be the head. In this, her chief aid and counsellor had ostensibly been Diwan Dina Nath, ever ill-disposed to the English, and then probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of the British becoming the guardians of the young Maharaja, and—what he would like still less—the guardians of the exchequer. He had survived many revolutions in which kings and families, old masters and old friends, had perished; but it was doubtful if the Chancellor of the Panjab could long survive one which should altogether do away with speculation. Calculating, therefore, on having when the British withdrew, the whole management of affairs in his own hands, he had, apparently, preferred to run all risks, and had joined heartily in the intrigues of the Maharani.

The Sardars, however, showed great steadiness and perseverance in this matter; and, headed by Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sardar Sher Singh, the Maharaja's brother-in-law, they stoutly refused the Maharani's proposal that they should send a letter to the British, declaring her the head of the Government and their readiness to obey all her orders.

The discussion that ensued lasted for nearly a week (till December 14), eliciting strange philippics and recriminations and even abuse within the Palace, and usually ending in the Sardars rising and retiring in a body, saying that the Maharani wished to bring ruin on her son and all the Khalsa; that she might act as she pleased; but, for themselves, the Palace was no longer a fit place for respectable men and that they would cross the Sutlej with the British troops.¹

Accordingly, the Sardars seemed to have left Diwan Dina Nath to write an answer to the Governor-General's letter, in what terms he chose; and, no sooner had it been sent, than messages from various Sardars came to disown all participation in its composition. "Sardar

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

Sher Singh," wrote H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie in a letter dated the 17th December 1846, " whose near relationship to the Maharaja makes it his strongest interest to do what seems best for the stability of the Panjab as an independent kingdom, applied to me for a private interview on the subject and sent me a paper explanatory of his wishes. Standing studiously aloof from the intrigues of the Court, I declined the private interview, but perused the paper, and strange to say, it proposed the unreserved committal of the kingdom to British guardianship, till such time as the young Maharaja comes to maturity ; pointing out, with much good sense, the necessity of reviewing fairly the whole resources of the kingdom, and portioning out the *jagirs*, establishments and expenses accordingly."¹

It was evident, therefore, that in the written answer² to the Governor-General's letter, an honest expression of the wants, wishes and opinions of the great body of the Chiefs who, during the boyhood of the Maharaja, were the natural representatives of the State, was not vouchsafed. So it was thought best to assemble all the Sardars together and give them an opportunity of speaking out their mind, unbiassed by the Maharani's persuasion and abuse.³

On December 15, a Darbar was held for this purpose in Currie's Camp, and was fully attended, the momentous importance of the occasion to the Khalsa having, in addition to the Ministers and principal Sardars, drawn many petty Chiefs, officers, and yeomen to the spot. An *Akali*, in the full costume of his order, with high blue turban, wreathed with steel quoits and crescents, was quite a new figure in this deliberate assembly, and showed that all ranks took an interest in the business of the day.

Currie explained to the assembly that the Governor-General would be best pleased could they assure him of their ability to carry on the Government alone, supported by the sincere friendship of the

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846.

² The Governor-General to the Secret Committee (No. 59), dated the 21st December 1846, Enclosure 5 in No. 6, dated the 14th December 1846, pers (1844—47).

³ Panjab Government Records, Serial No. 360, dated the 14th December 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

British ; but, if they thought it was impossible, and they called on the Governor-General to interfere and actively assist them, they must understand that his interference would be *complete*, i.e., he would occupy Lahore or any other part of the Panjab, with what force he thought advisable ; a stipulated sum of money being paid monthly into the British Treasury for the expenses of the same ; and, further, that the whole civil and military administration of the Panjab would be subject to the supervision of a British Resident, though conducted by the Darbar and the executive officers appointed by them. This arrangement was to hold good till the maturity of the young Maharaja, when the British troops would retire from the Panjab, and the British Government would recognise its perfect independence.¹

This proposition being communicated to the Assembly, Diwan Dina Nath expressed a wish to adjourn in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharani ; but Currie informed him that the Governor-General was not asking the opinion of the Queen-Mother, but of the Sardars and pillars of the State ; and to enable them to discuss the matter amongst themselves and come to an unbiassed opinion, Currie and Henry Lawrence retired to another tent and left them to themselves.

The fixed sum proposed by Currie to be paid yearly for the expenses of the British troops was twenty-four lacs of rupees, and he was soon informed by messengers that this was the only point on which there was any debate ; presently a deputation of five or six of the principal Sardars came to propose a reduction of this sum, as a point of friendship, and after canvassing the matter with reference to the resources of the country, it was at last agreed to fix it at twenty-two lacs per annum. The consent of each member of the deputation was then asked separately and written down by the *Mir Munshi* (Clerk of the Court) in presence of Henry Lawrence and Lieut. H. B. Edwardes. Currie and Henry Lawrence then returned to the Assembly in the other tent, and the same form was observed in the case of every

¹ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee (No. 59), dated the 21st December 1846. Enclosure 7 in No. 9.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

Sardar and officer of high or low degree, fifty-one in number, considered eligible to vote.¹

In order to afford full time for further deliberation it was resolved that the Sardars and the Chiefs should reassemble on the following day when certain individuals should be selected by themselves to draw up the Articles of Agreement, in conjunction with Currie and Henry Lawrence.

The Chiefs accordingly reassembled at Currie's darbar tent, at three o'clock on December 16, 1846. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up, each Article having been discussed separately; the money contribution was fixed at twenty-two lacs; and every Sardar present signed and sealed the paper.²

All the Chiefs expressed their satisfaction that the Maharaja would be under the protection of the British Government during his minority, which would continue until the 4th of September 1854.³

On December 26, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh paid the Governor-General a State visit at his camp at Bhyrowal, when the Articles of Agreement dated the 16th December 1846, were ratified by the Maharaja and the Governor-General with the usual ceremonies.⁴ After this the Governor-General addressed the Chiefs assembled in the following terms, the address being translated, sentence by sentence, by the Secretary to the Government of India, Frederick Currie.⁵

“The sentiments which I expressed on the occasion of ratifying the Treaty of Peace last March at Lahore, have undergone no change. The British Government desires that peace and friendship may subsist between the two States.

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

² The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp left bank of Beas, the 22nd December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

³ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp Bhyrowal Ghât, the 21st December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

⁴ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp Lahore, the 2nd January 1847.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

⁵ Proceedings of a Darbar at the Governor-General's Camp at Bhyrowal Ghât on the left bank of the Beas, dated 26th December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

“The notification which I have caused to be published of the recent transactions at Lahore contains a statement of the circumstances which have led to the modification of the Treaty. The Articles of Agreement have been inserted in that document. The Sardars and Chiefs, in coming to this decision, have exercised their own judgment, influenced, no doubt, by the conviction that the interests of the Maharaja and the welfare of the people can best be secured by cultivating the friendship of the British Government.

“Acting on the same principle, of maintaining the Lahore Treaty, and of strengthening the bonds of amity and peace, I have undertaken, on the part of the British Government, to carry the terms of the Agreement into effect. No permanent alteration has been made in the Treaty of Lahore; every Article remains in full force, with the exception of the temporary suspension of Article XV¹ during the minority of the Maharaja.

“The interposition of British influence will be exercised for the advantage of the people, and the success of this interposition will be assisted by the confidence and cordiality with which the Sardars will co-operate with the British Resident.

“That officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, is well-known to the Chiefs, by his energy, talents, and integrity; by these qualities he has conciliated their good-will and respect.

“The Agreement ratified this day, as well as the recent events at Lahore, will, I trust, impress upon every State in India the conviction that, whilst the British Government will, by just means, firmly consolidate its Eastern Empire, it will omit no efforts to improve the condition, and promote the prosperity, of all classes of the people.

“I also trust, that when His Highness shall have arrived at the age prescribed by law for assuming the Government of the country, he will establish his rule on the firm basis of making his people happy, by his equity and justice.

¹ “The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.” (Article XV of First Treaty of Lahore of 1846).

"In the interval, the British Government will feel a cordial solicitude in all that regards His Highness' personal welfare." ¹

How short-lived were the hopes of the durability of the system of protection thus established in the Panjab is now a matter of history.

A contemporary writer defending the Treaty of December, 1846, thus expressed the alternative that was present to the Governor-General's mind:—"If the time arrives when the Darbar and the Army grow weary of our honesty, then no voice will be louder than ours for punishing the State by complete annexation." ²

When that time did arrive, Lord Hardinge's voice joined in approving the policy which was forced upon his successor. In a letter from England to Sir Henry Lawrence, dated March 24, 1849, he wrote:—"The energy and turbulent spirit of the Sikhs are stated by one section [of politicians here] as ground for *not* annexing. In my judgment, this is the argument which would dispose me, if I were on the spot, to annex.....I should be ashamed of myself if I would not depart from a line of policy which was right at the time, because I might be charged with inconsistency."

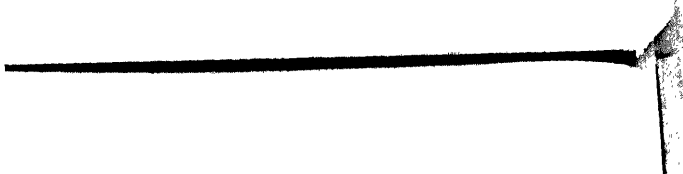
¹ Proceedings of a Darbar at the Governor-General's Camp at Bhyrowal Ghât on the left bank of the Beas, dated 26th December 1846—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

² *Viscount Hardinge*.—The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900. p. 152. *Rulers of India*.

THE MAP
OF
THE MUGHAL PROVINCE
OF MULTAN

HERAT
OSABZAWAR
FARRAH
KANDAHAR
SHORAWAK
NUSHKI
DALBANDIN
KHARAN
CHAGAI
SARAWAN
OKELAT
KACCHHI
GANDAVA
JALALABAD
KABULO
GHAZNI
PESHAWAR
KOHAT
BANNU
ATTOCK
RAWALPINDI
JHELM
GUJRAT
SIALKOT
GUJRANWALA
SHEIKHU PURA
AMRITSAR
LAHORE
MONTGOMERY
MUZAFFARGARH
BAHAWALPUR
JHAJHAR
KARNAL
SARASWATI
BIKANER
MARWAR
JHAJHAR
KARNAL
SARASWATI
BIKANER
MARWAR
JHAJHAR
KARNAL
SARASWATI
BIKANER
MARWAR

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THE MUGHAL PROVINCE OF MULTAN AND ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (1707—1849).

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[Paper read on 31st January 1933.]

I. Territorial Limits.

From the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find that the Mughal province of Multan was divided into three Faujdari Divisions of Dipalpur, Multan, and Bhakkar. Each of these Divisions was divided into a number of Parganas, or Mahals. In the Dipalpur Division there were 29 parganas; six in the territory north of the old bed of the River Hakra or Ghaggar, 10 in the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas, six in the Bari Doab, and seven in the Rachna Doab. South of the present course of the Sutlej, the towns of Ferozpur, Mamdot and Jalalabad are still well-known, and traceable in all good maps. They are all found in the present day district of Ferozpur. The Jangal pargana is most probably the recently colonised tahsil of Fazilka. The Kabula pargana must have been near the town of Kabula, which is north of the present river Sutlej, a little towards the west of Pakpattan, in the Montgomery district. These six parganas must therefore have been in the Ferozpur, Muktsar and Fazilka tahsils of Ferozepur district, Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State, and in the northern portion of Bikaner State.

In the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas, there were 10 parganas. Out of these the towns of Dipalpur, Pakpattan, and Kabula are still well-known, and are traceable in all good maps. These 10 parganas must therefore have been in the present day tahsils of Dipalpur and Pakpattan in the Montgomery district. In the Bari Doab there were six parganas, out of which Satghara is still a well-known town in the Okara tahsil of Montgomery district. In the Rachna Doab there were seven Mahals. Out of these the town Faridabad is traceable in the maps.

From the situation of these towns we can very well judge, that the Dipalpur Division in the time of the Mughals contained the following present day territories :—

1. The tahsils of Fazilka, Ferozpur, and Muktsar in the district of Ferozpur, and a portion of Chunian tahsil of Lahore district.
2. The Eastern portion of Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State.
3. Northern portion of Bikaner State.
4. All the four tahsils of Dipalpur, Pakpattan, Montgomery and Okara of Montgomery district.

If we round up the boundaries from Ferozpur to Dipalpur, then it seems in this corner the boundary lay along the old bed of the Beas. The south-western corner of the Chunian tahsil south of the old bed of the river Beas must have therefore been in the Dipalpur Division.

This disposes of the Dipalpur Division. Next we come to the Multan Division of the province. In this Division the Mughals had 47 parganas; 17 in the territory south of the present course of the Sutlej and west of the Indus, nine in the Doab between the Sutlej and the Bias, 11 in the Bari Doab, six in the Rachna Doab, and four in the Sindh Sagar Doab. In the territory south of the Sutlej, the old town of Battu Wattu, Jajji, Mau, Sarwahi, Marot, Uch and Derawal in the Bahawalpur State, and Sitpur in the present day Muzaffargarh district are still well-known, and are traceable in all good maps. In the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas there were nine parganas. Out of these Adamwahan, Jalalabad, Dunyapur, Shergarh, Fatehpur and Kahrur are still well-known places in the Lodhran and Mailsi tahsils of the present day Multan district. Khaibuldi was most probably along the old bed of the river Beas. Ghalu Ghara was along the banks of the river Sutlej near Bahawalpur town. In the Bari Doab there were 11 parganas. Out of these, Multan, suburban Multan, and Tulamba can easily be traced on the map. Islampur must have been along the banks of the river Chenab, Chaukundi, Khatpur and Deg Ravi tract, along the banks of the river Ravi, and Khaibuldi along the banks of the river Beas. In the Rachna Doab there were six parganas, Irajpur, Deg Ravi

tract, Chaukundi, Khatpur, Dalibhati and Kalbali. In the Sindh Sagar Doab there were four parganas. Out of these, Rangpur and Sitpur, both in the Muzaffargarh district are still well-known towns.

From a situation of these towns we can very well infer that the Multan Division in the time of the Mughals contained the following territories :—

1. The western portion of Minchinabad district and Bahawalpur and Khanpur districts of Bahawalpur State, north of the old bed of the river Hakra.
2. All the five tahsils of Mailsi, Lodhran, Shujabad, Multan, Khanewal, and Kabirwala of the present day district of Multan.
3. All the four tahsil of Alipur, Muzaffargarh, Kot Adu, and Leiah of the present day district of Muzaffargarh.
4. Samundari and Toba Tek Singh tahsils of Lyallpur district.
5. Jhang tahsil and a portion of Shorekot tahsils of the present day Jhang district.
6. It can be safely said that the present day Mianwali and Dera Ismail Khan districts did neither form parts of the neighbouring Lahore province in the East, nor of the adjoining Kabul province in the West. From the Land Revenue Settlement Reports of these districts we find that these territories were uptill recently absolutely waste lands. In the 15th and 16th centuries A. D. the governors of Multan encouraged several Biloch tribes to colonise the present day districts of Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mianwali. So we may take it that these districts though waste lands, were within the boundaries of the Mughal province of Multan.

Having disposed of Dipalpur and Multan Divisions, we now come to the 3rd Faujdari Division of Bhakkar. In this Division according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* there were 12 parganas. Out of these Alor or Aror near the present day railway junction Rohri, which is also supposed to be the original home of the well-known Arora caste of the Hindus, does not require any elaborate identification on my part.

The ruins of this old town are in the present day Sukkur district of Sindh. Close by this town is the celebrated fort of Bhakkar on an island in the river Indus. It was the headquarters of the local Faujdar and formed a separate mahal. Jatoi, another pargana town in this Division, is now in the Alipur tehsil of Muzaffargarh district. Siwi is undoubtedly the present day Sibi in British Balochistan. Sibi is just near the Bolan Pass, and the officer in charge of this pargana was called muhafiz-i-darra. Fatehpur another pargana town in this Division is near Gandava (ancient Kandabil) the chief town of Kacchhi district in Kelat State.

From the situation of these towns, we find that the Bhakkar Division of Multan province contained in the Mughal times the following territories :—

1. The whole of the present day Sukkur and Frontier districts in Sindh.
2. The Kacchhi district in Kelat State.
3. The Sibi district in Balochistan, including the Marri, the Bugti, and the Khetran territories.
4. The greater portion of the present day district of Dera Ghazi Khan and a portion of the Alipur tahsil of Muzaffargarh district.

Since it is well-known that Thal, Chotiali, and Duki in the present day Loralai district were included in the province of Kandahar, and Zhob Valley district is also almost entirely inhabited by Pathans, we may take it that these two districts were not in the province of Multan. We also know that Quetta or the old town of Shal, and Pishin or the old town of Pushang were also included in the province of Kandahar. So the present day Quetta district was also not in the Mughal province of Multan. Mustang a very important town in the Sarawan district of Kelat State was also included in Kandahar province. This disposes off the western frontiers of the Multan province. In the north we know definitely that Bannu, Kohat, Tirah, and Peshawar, were included in the Kabul province.

We are now in a position to fix the boundaries of the Mughal province of Multan. It consisted of three Faujdari Divisions con-

taining 88 parganas ; and the following territories were included in this province :—

1. The entire present day British districts of Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sukkur, Sindh Frontier, and Sibi.
2. The whole of the State of Bahawalpur, north of the old bed of the river Hakra.
3. Fazilka, Muktsar and Ferozepur tahsils of the Ferozepur district, a small south-western corner of the Chunian tahsil of Lahore district, Samundari and Toba Tek Singh tahsils of Lyallpur district, Shorekot and Jhang tahsils of Jhang district, and a greater portion of Khushab tahsil of Shahpur district. The trans-Indus tahsil of Isa Khel of the Mianwali district probably did not form part of Multan province.
4. Northern portion of Bikaner State.
5. The Kacchhi district in Kelat State.

In order to facilitate reference, I have attached to this paper a map I have specially prepared for the occasion. I have given in this map most of the important towns mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and which can at present be traced in the maps. The red lines mark the present day British territorial distribution. The green lines on the other hand show the territorial distribution of the Mughals. From the map it will be observed that in the western boundaries of the Multan province, there was a semi-circular depression caused by an intrusion of a portion of the Kandahar province. The Bolan Pass in the time of the Mughals gave an entrance into the Multan province from Kandahar side just as Khyber Pass in modern times gives an entrance into India from Kabul. The Multan province together with Kabul province in the north, and Sindh province in the south, formed a big semi-circular curve round the province of Kandahar in the west. Sindh, Multan, and Kabul were the frontier provinces of the Mughals. That explains why the Mughals so very often made efforts to include Kandahar in their Empire. They did not want a foreign territory like that of Kandahar under the Persians to project into their north-western frontiers.

II. Political condition in 1707.

On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the administrative affairs of the Mughal government in Multan province were in a very neglected condition. Aurangzeb had spent the whole of the latter half of his reign in fighting the Deccan kingdoms and the Marhattas, in the south. At the time of his death in 1707, his grandson, Prince Muiz-ud-din, who afterwards ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, with the title of Jahandar Shah (1712-13), was the Viceroy at Multan. But Muiz-ud-din was a very profligate prince and he cared very little for the affairs of the State. The Emperor, on account of his pre-occupations in the Deccan, could hardly pay any attention to the affairs in the north. The result was that the Empire began very soon to break up. The local governors, faujdars, and zamindars, began to assume independence. It would be interesting to have a political picture at this period of the Mughal provinces of Lahore, Kabul, Multan and Sindh.

Let us first take the frontier province of Sindh. It consisted in the time of the Mughals, of the present British province of Sindh minus Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts in the north, minus Thar Parkar and a portion of Khairpur State in the East, plus the State of Las Bela, in Baluchistan, and plus Jhalawan district in Kelat State also in Baluchistan. The districts of Kharan and Makran in the present Kelat State were at that time within the Persian Empire. The present districts of Zhob Valley, Loralai, Quetta-Pishin, and a greater portion of Chagai all in British Baluchistan to-day, at that time formed parts of the Persian province of Kandahar. Towards the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb there had risen a Bruhi power in the western parts of the Mughal province of Sindh. The present day Bruhi people are by race supposed to be a mixed people of Perso-Turanian extraction. But their language is akin to the Dravidian languages of south India. These people have from long ages lived in the western mountains of Sindh. A chief belonging to this Bruhi people, Mir Ahmad by name organised a rebellion in Jhalawan district, and then carved out for himself a small independent principality in the western parts of Sindh. This took place in the reign of Aurangzeb, for Mir Ahmad is supposed to have died in 1695,

full 12 years before the death of Aurangzeb. Having become independent in Jhalawan, Mir Ahmad and his successors began to make raids into the neighbouring territories of the Mughal province of Multan, and the Persian provinces of Kandahar, Sistan and Makran.

✓ *The Kalhoras and the Daudputras.*—Let us now take up the Mughal province of Multan. A number of clans, tribes and people were at this time living in the province. In the western portions of the Khanpur district of the present Bahawalpur State, in the Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts of modern Sindh, in the Sibi district of the existing Baluchistan, and in the Kacchhi district of the present Kelat State, there was living at this time a clan, which considers itself connected with the celebrated Abbasi caliphate family of Baghdad. Several centuries ago this clan settled itself in this part of Multan province, as agriculturists. About the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, two families, belonging to this clan rose into prominence. The Kalhora branch of this clan, was in possession of Sibi and Kacchhi districts, and the Daudputra branch held the western portions of Khanpur district in the Bahawalpur State and Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts of Sindh. There was great amount of rivalry between these two branches of the clan, and at the time of the death of Aurangzeb both of these families had become politically prominent. The first Kalhora chief to rise into prominence was Nasir Muhammed, and his son Yar Muhammed Khan, with the assistance of Mir Samandar, the Khan of Kelat, defeated the Mughal governor of Sibi, in 1700, and founded an independent principality. Expeditionary forces were sent against him by the Mughal Viceroy of Multan, Prince Muiz-ud-din, and Yar Muhammad Khan, who is also known by the name of Khudayar Khan, offered his submission. On this he was confirmed as the governor of Sibi. In 1716 Emperor Farrukhsiyar, appointed him viceroy of Sindh. While the Kalhoras were thus consolidating their political power, the Daudputras did not lag behind. In 1701 the Baluches in Dera Ghazi Khan had revolted against the Mughal government, and Mubarak Khan, the head of the Daudputra branch of the clan, rendered assistance to Prince Muiz-ud-din in organising an expeditionary force against them. In reward for these services Mubarak Khan was confirmed by the Prince in the possession of Shikarpur, Bakhtiyarpur, Khanpur, and the fort of Bhakkar.

✓ *The Nahars.*—Higher up in what is now called the Derajat, comprising the present day districts of Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan, there were at this time two people risen into importance, the Nahars and the Baluches. When Bahlol Khan Lodi, who had been governor of Multan, became king of Delhi in 1455, he granted the country lying between the Indus, which then joined the Chenab at Uch, and the Suleman mountains, south of a line from Harrand to Uch and north of Shikarpur in Sukkur district, to his relation Islam Khan Lodi. This tract comprised what is now the Alipur tahsil of Muzaffargarh district, and the Rajanpur and Rojhan tahsils of Dera Ghazi Khan district. Islam Khan Lodi and his descendants are known in history by the name of Nahars. Islam Khan's grandsons quarrelled and divided the country among themselves. The present Alipur tahsil, with Sitpur as its chief town came to the share of Tahir Khan, the head of one branch of the family. Rojhan, and Rajanpur fell to the share of the other branch. It was after the Sitpur principality was established, that the Baluches appeared on the scene, and occupied the entire country on the left bank of the river Indus, from Sitpur in Alipur tahsil to Kot Karor in Leiah tahsil. But in the beginning of the 18th century, A. D. the Nahars were still in possession of a large part of their old territories.

✓ *The Baluches.*—The Baluches are really not indigenous to India. Their original home is on the other side of the Suleman range of mountains, in the wilds of Siestan and Makran. In the middle of the 15th century A. D. these Baluch tribes began to issue from across the hills, and advance towards Sindh, and the valley of the Indus River. At that time the chiefs of the Langah dynasty were ruling the province of Multan. The country was then occupied mostly by the Jats, and they were troubling the administration very much. Sultan Hussain, a king of the Langah dynasty (1469—1504), took advantage of the arrival in these parts of the country at this juncture, of the Baluches, and decided to use them in putting down the Jat disturbances. The Baluches eventually established three principalities in the Derajat. One section, the Mirranis, established themselves in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan. One of the Mirrani chiefs, Haji Khan, founded in 1484 the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, after the name of his son Ghazi Khan.

The chiefs of this family expelled the Nahars from the south of Dera Ghazi Khan district and pressed the Sitpur Nahars very hard. The Mirrani chiefs also held the greater portion of Muzaffargarh tahsil, as well as the tahsils of Kot Adu and Leiah. Another branch of the Baluches, the Hots, established themselves in the present day Dera Ismail Khan district, and in the Mianwali and Bhakkar tahsils of Mianwali district. Later on the Mirranis were ousted from Leiah and the Hots from Bhakkar, by another Biloch tribe, the Jeskanis.

✓*The Sials.*—In what is now known as the district of Jhang, there ruled at this time a Rajput clan, the Sials. The Sials are supposed to be the descendants of one Rai Shanker, a Panwar Rajput, whose original home was in Dharanagari, a well-known town in the present day Central India Agency. The son of this Rai Shanker Sial emigrated to the Punjab, and here Baba Farid converted him to the faith of Islam. Baba Farid is said to have died in 1265. One Mal Khan, a descendant in the 9th generation of Sial, founded in 1462 the town of Jhang. Mal Khan was the first among the Sials who attained political importance. He exercised an extensive sway over the entire territory round about Jhang. The Mughal government seems to have recognised these Sial chiefs as the zamindars of the Jhang Ilaga. They collected the revenues, and transmitted them to the provincial headquarters. At the time when Prince Muiz-ud-din was the governor of Multan, one Sultan Mahmud was the Sial Chief of Jhang. He was soon after succeeded in the zamindari by his nephew Walidad Khan, who ruled till 1747. It was therefore in the time of Walidad Khan that the Mughal empire broke up into pieces. He had consequently a very good opportunity to extend the bounds of the territory under his sway.

✓*The Tiwanas.*—Towards the north of the Sials, west of the river Jhelum, were the Tiwanas. The Tiwanas and the Sials are both supposed to be the descendants of Rai Shanker, the Panwar Rajput prince of Dharanagari. The Tiwanas also like their cousins the Sials had emigrated to the Punjab, and here got converted to the faith of Islam. They at first established themselves in the Mianwali district on the banks of the river Indus. From there they extended their dominions eastwards, across the Thal, to the banks of the river Jhelum.

One of these Tiwana Chiefs, Mir Ahmad Khan, founded the town of Mitha Tiwana in the present tahsil of Khushab, in the year 1680. In the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719—1748), one Malik Sher Khan was the ruler of this Ilaga. But he paid the collections of revenues to the Baluch Chiefs of Dera Ismail Khan.

The Kharrals.—At the time of the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, several new powers were rising into importance, in the district of Montgomery. In the north-west portions of the district the politically most important people were the Kharrals. The Kharrals consider themselves to be the descendants of Raja Karan of Hastinapur fame. One of the descendants of this Raja Karan, named Bhupa emigrated to the Punjab, and came to Uch, the residence of the celebrated Muslim Saint Makhdum Jahania Shah, where he was converted to the faith of Islam. From Uch the Kharrals spread over to the country along the banks of the river Ravi. A descendant of Bhupa, by name Kamal Khan, founded the town of Kamalia in the middle of the 16th century. In the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Kamalia was ruled by the Kharral Chief Saadat Ali Khan.

Hansa Malik.—A little south of the Kharrals there were another people who had gained importance. In the time of Emperor Aurangzeb a learned Shaikh Kutub-ud-din was a teacher of the sons of some Delhi noblemen. He obtained some influence at the court, and in 1663 he obtained from the Emperor a Sanad granting him several villages near Hansa Malik, a little to the north-west of Pakpattan. Owing to his own ability as well as court influence, Sheikh Kutub-ud-din became a powerful man, and as the Sohag-Para inundation canals passed through his lands, he became very rich. On the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah the descendants of this Shaikh made themselves independent over the country they held. Their territory lay in the Ain-i-Akbari pargana of Kabula.

Wattus and Dogars.—In the eastern parts of the district there were two other tribes that were important. They were the Wattus, who are a section of the Bhatti Rajputs, and Dogars who consider themselves to be a section of the Chauhan Rajputs. On the decay of the Mughal Empire, these people turned into robbers and dacoits, and caused a good deal of disturbance in the country. The Wattus had

their headquarters at Atari and Haveli in the southern parts of Dipalpur tahsil, and the Dogars occupied the riverain tracts of the Sutlej, on the southern borders of the same tahsil.

Besides these secular powers, there were at this time in the district some ecclesiastical bodies too, which possessed a good deal of power and influence among the people. They were the Diwans of Pakpattan, the descendant of Baba Farid, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra in Dipalpur tahsil. These religious bodies possessed large areas of revenue free grants of land, and at the breakup of the Empire they also became independent secular powers.

We can now be in a position to reconstruct the political condition of the Mughal province of Multan, as it was on the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. It appears the main substratum in Multan was the Jat population. There were also living here in this province, a few of the most ancient Kshatriya tribes like those of the Yaudehas (the modern Joyas) and the Kathis. In the beginning of the 18th century there were as many as 10 powers that sprang up into existence, *viz.*, the Hansa Maliks, and the Kharrals in Montgomery district, the Sials in the Jhang district, the Tiwanas in the Thal, the Jaskanas, in Mianwali, the Hots in Dera Ismail Khan, the Mirranis in Dera Ghazi Khan, the Nahars in Sitpur, Muzaffargarh, the Kalhoras in Sibi and Kacchhi, and the Daudputras in Sukkur and Khanpur. In addition to these 10 secular powers there were four ecclesiastical powers at Uch, Pakpattan, Hujra and Shergarh. With the rise of these 14 distinct and independent powers, it can well be imagined to what low position the Mughal Viceroy was at this time reduced to. No wonder then that marauders like the Dogars and the Wattus began to over-run the entire countryside. That explains why the province was not able to offer any resistance to a foreign invader like Nadir Shah. The territory directly under the rule of the Viceroy became so much restricted in area, that its resources became quite inadequate to keep internal peace and tranquility, or check foreign aggression.

III. History subsequent to the year 1707.

Let us now turn to the history of each of the powers mentioned above, in the period 1707—1849. I shall deal with this matter as briefly as possible. The province kept up to some extent its outward unity

till the Sikhs broke out into open rebellion in the neighbouring province of Lahore under the leadership of Banda Bairagi. It is well-known that this Sikh outbreak had not yet subsided, when Emperor Shah Alam I suddenly died at Lahore in 1712. The Emperor's eldest son Prince Muiz-ud-din was at that time governor of Multan. So he at once succeeded his father, under the title of Jahandar Shah. But at this time the empire itself became engaged in a war of succession. Jahandar Shah was in a few months dethroned by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, and thenceforward under the supremacy of the Sayyad brothers the Emperor himself became a nonentity. Under such circumstances then the Sikh rebellion continued unabated. This led the unruly elements in the neighbouring districts of Multan province like the Dogars and the Wattas also to raise their heads. Both the provinces, Multan and Lahore became disturbed. In order to put down this disturbance one Abdul Samad Khan, who was at that time Faujdar of Kashmir, was appointed Viceroy in charge of both the provinces. During his life time this governor was engaged in subduing the Sikhs. He died in 1726, and was succeeded by his son Zakariya Khan, who ruled till 1743. His rule in the Mughal provinces of Lahore and Multan coincided with the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah. In this reign the disintegrating processes in the empire were working with full force. Each local zemindar, faujdar and governor was trying to become independent. After the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, the forces of disorders were released completely. In that year the provinces of Sindh and Kabul, and the trans-Indus territory of Multan province were ceded by Emperor Muhammad Shah to Nadir Shah, and thenceforth they formed part of the Persian Empire. So under this treaty the present districts of Sukkur, Sindh Frontier, Kacchhi and Sibi, which then formed part of the Mughal province of Multan, were lost by India. In 1752 the remaining portion of Multan province was also taken away by Ahmad Shah Abdali, the successor of Nadir Shah in the eastern parts of his Persian Empire.

1. *The Kalhoras and the Daudputras.*

I have already stated that at the time of the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, one Yar Muhammad Khan Kalhora was in charge of the present districts of Kacchhi and Sibi, and one Muharak Khan

Daudputra was in occupation of the districts of Sukkur and Khanpur. In 1716, Yar Muhammad Khan was appointed by the Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar, governor of Sindh, but two years after this in 1718, he died. He was succeeded in the governorship of Sindh by his son Nur Muhammad Khan. In Sukkur Mubarak Khan Daudputra was succeeded by his son Sadiq Muhammad Khan, in 1723. In 1726 Sadiq Muhammad Khan was driven out of Shikarpur and Sukkur by Nur Muhammad Khan. The Daudputras were now compelled to take refuge with the Makhdums of Uch. With the influence the Makhdums had with the Nawab of Multan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan Daudputra was able to obtain in 1728 the jagirdari of Chaudhri, a small district in the Khanpur district of the present Bahawalpur State. At that time in the present Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State, south of Pakpattan there lay the territory of one Farid Khan Lakhwera, who had become independent of the Mughal authorities, and making raids into all the neighbouring lands. At the instance of the Nawab of Multan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan overthrew Farid Khan, and put down the disturbance caused by him. In reward for this service he was granted Farid Shahr also in jagir. This happened in 1732. Having established himself in Chaudhri and Shahr Farid, Sadiq Muhammad now began to extend his dominions. There lay across the dry bed of the river Hakra in the south at that time the Rajput States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Muhammad Sadiq Khan attacked Jaisalmer, and in 1733 took possession of Derawal. It was after this that in 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India. On his final departure from India in 1740 he recognised Sadiq Muhammad Khan Daudputra as the ruler of the territories he held, and from the trans-Indus portion of the province of Multan, which was ceded to him, he granted him the districts of Sukkur, Shikarpur and Sibi. He granted the eastern portion of the Mughal province of Sindh to Nur Muhammad Khan Kalhora. The western portion of Sindh, forming the present districts of Jhalawan and Sarawan was granted to the Bruhi Chief Muhabbat Khan. Having thus divided his new territories in Sindh and Multan, Nadir Shah returned to Kandahar. But it seems Nur Muhammad Khan Kalhora was not satisfied with this division. A few years after the departure of Nadir Shah, seeing that he was busy elsewhere the Kalhora Chief Nur Muhammad

attacked the possessions of the Daudputras in Sukkur and Shikarpur, and added them to his own dominions of Sindh. Sadiq Muhammad Khan was killed in 1746, while defending these places. Thereafter the Daudputras retire finally from Sukkur, and Bahawal Khan, the son of Sadiq Muhammad Khan, founded in 1748 a city called after his name, Bahawalpur, which he made his headquarters. Bahawal Khan ruled from 1746 to 1749. Shortly after the foundation of Bahawalpur, Janessar Khan, the Baluch Chief of Dera Ghazi Khan, revolted against Kura Mall, the governor of Multan. Bahawal Khan rendered great service to the governor in putting down the Baluch revolt. In reward for this service, perpetual lease of the pargana of Adamwahan on the northern side of the river Sutlej was granted to the Daudputras. After the death of Bahawal Khan I, his brother Mubarak Khan II succeeded to the principality of Bahawalpur. He ruled from 1749 to 1772. He continued the policy of extending his territories. He took in 1750 Marot from Jaisulmer, and Madwala and Shihni Bakri, in Muzaffargarh district, and But Doma in Dera Ghazi Khan district from the Nahars of Sitpur. He conquered Phulra close to Fort Abbas of the present-day from Bikaner, and when after 1756 the Mughal province of Lahore, and the remaining territory of Multan province were annexed to the Abdali Empire, and on account of the opposition of the Sikhs, King Ahmad Shah could not hold the country, and the Sikhs became independent in 1764, Mubarak Khan II annexed to his dominions the entire low lying territory north of the river Sutlej, in the present Montgomery district, right up to Tibbi, a place a little south westward of Pakpattan. In 1766, the Bhangi Sardars attacked Multan, and Mubarak Shah came to the assistance of the Abdali governor. The advance of the Sikhs was for the time being checked. In return for this service, the Nawab of Multan granted to Mubarak Khan a lease of the southern tahsils of Multan, viz., Mailsi, Lodhran and a part of Shujabad. The whole of the territory, south of the old bed of the river Bias, was granted to him. When in 1772, Mubarak Khan II died, he was succeeded by his nephew Bahawal Khan II who ruled from 1772 to 1809. This ruler also continued the policy of territorial expansion followed by his predecessors. In 1782 he took Jatoi,

and when in 1790 the Indus suddenly changed its course, and instead of joining the Panjnad at Uch, as it was doing so far, formed its confluence with the Panjab rivers at Mithankot, the Nahar territory north of the old bed of the river Indus became exposed to the attacks of the Daudputras. Between the years 1790—1800 Bahawal Khan II conquered the Nahar territories of Alipur, Shahr Sultan, Sitpur and Khairpur, all in the present district of Muzaffargarh. He also took away some territory from the Baluch rulers of Dera Ghazi Khan. Bahawal Khan II died in 1809, and he was succeeded by his son Sadiq Muhammad Khan II, who ruled from 1809 to 1825. It was during his reign that Ranjit Singh conquered Multan in 1818, and the Baluch territory of Dera Ghazi Khan in 1819. Ranjit Singh leased the territory of Central Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan to Sadiq Muhammad Khan II. Sadiq Muhammad Khan II was succeeded by his son Bahawal Khan III, who ruled from 1825 to 1852. In 1831 Ranjit Singh terminated the lease and Bahawal Khan was required to hand over to the Sikh government the possession of all the territory he held north of the river Sutlej, in the tahsils of Pakpattan, Mailsi, Lodhran and Shujabad, and of the territories in Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts. General Ventura was asked to take over the possession, who held its charge for two years till 1833. In this way Nawab Bahawal Khan III lost territory yielding to him an annual revenue of Rupees 69,742. He was deeply chagrined at this loss, and so now began to look about for alliances with rulers of neighbouring territories. In 1833 he accepted the protection of the British East India Company. In that year the territory taken by Ranjit Singh from Bahawal Khan III was added to the charge of Diwan Sawan Mall, who had been appointed governor of Multan a few years earlier. ✓

2. *The Nahars and the Baluches.*

I have already explained that the Nahars were connected with the Lodhi dynasty of Delhi. They established a principality in the southern parts of the present Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts in 1455, with Sitpur as their capital. Later on this principality became split up into three divisions, and it was finally absorbed by the two neighbouring powers of the Baluches in the west and the Daudputras in the south-east.

I have already stated that the Mirrani section of the Baluches established themselves in 1469 in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan, in the western parts of the tahsil of Muzaffargarh, and in the tahsils of Kot Adu and Leiah. The Mirrani chiefs ruled this country from 1469 to 1739, that is to say for a period of about 270 years. It appears that during all this long period although these Baluch chiefs owed allegiance to the successive Delhi emperors of the Lodhi and Mughal dynasties, and worked in subordination to the local governors of the Multan province, they exercised autonomous powers in the territories held by them. In 1620, a Baluch chief Baluch Khan, whose descendants are known as Jaskanis, after the name of his son Jask Khan, drove the Mirranis out of Leiah, and himself began to rule in this part of the country. In 1712 the Mirrani Baluch chiefs came into conflict with the Kalhoras, who had recently established themselves in Sibi. In 1738, Muhammed Khan Gujar, who had been the Wazir of the last Mirrani chief, set aside his master and himself became the ruler of the country. He and his son Barkhurdar ruled the country for 40 years from 1739 to 1779. These two Gujar chiefs recognised the overlordships of the Kalhora rulers of Sindh. But the Kalhora rule itself ended in Sindh in 1783. In the time of the last Kalhora chief Sarfaraz Khan who ruled from 1772 to 1783, there was a regular civil war in Sindh. He could not therefore keep much control over Barkhurdar Gujar of Dera Ghazi Khan, who practically became independent. But by this time the old Abdali King Ahmad Shah was dead, and his son Taimur Shah had ascended the Abdali throne in 1773. This king in the beginning of his reign showed great activity. He recovered Multan in 1779 from the Bhangi Sikhs, and in the same year an Abdali governor was sent for Dera Ghazi Khan. These Abdali governors ruled the country from 1779 to 1819 for a period of 40 years, when it was annexed to the Sikh dominions by Ranjit Singh, who gave it on lease to Sadiq Muhammad Khan II of Bahawalpur. It was handed over to Diwan Sawan Mall in 1831.

3. *The Hots and the Jaskanis.*

The Hot section of the Baluches occupied in the middle of the 15th century the present district of Dera Ismail Khan, and the tahsils of

Mianwali and Bhakkar. These Hot chiefs like the Mirranis, exercised autonomous powers over the country they held. But in 1620 their rule was overthrown in Mianwali and Bhakkar tahsils by the Jaskanis. After this the rule of the Hots remained confined to the present district of Dera Ismail Khan. These Hot chiefs ruled the country from about the middle of the 15th century to 1770. The last Hot chief Nasrat Khan was set aside in 1770 by Ahmad Shah Abdali and from this time onward Abdali governors ruled the country. In 1793, the Abdali King Shah Taimur died, and was succeeded by Shah Zaman. His elder brother Humayun was forced to run away from Kandahar, and take refuge in the deserts of Mianwali. Nawab Muhammad Khan Saddozai who was at this time the ruler of the present Mianwali district, arrested Prince Humayun, and sent him as prisoner to his brother Shah Zaman. For this service the district of Dera Ismail Khan was added to his charge.

I have mentioned above that the Jaskanis had become rulers of the present Mianwali district in 1620. They ruled the entire country of the Sindh Sagar Doab, in between the Indus and the Chenab, from the west to the east, and from the Salt Range to Leiah from the north to the south. The rule of the Jaskanis in this part of the country lasted from 1620 to 1789, for a period of about 170 years. I have already stated that the Kalhoras were driven out of Sindh in 1783. So they were in search of a new kingdom. Just about this time the affairs of the Jaskanis in Mianwali were in a very deplorable condition. They were fighting among themselves. So Abdul Nabi, the brother of Sarfaraz Khan Kalhora, took possession of the country in 1789. He remained in possession till 1792, when Muhammad Khan Saddozai, a cousin of Muzaffar Khan, Nawab of Multan, was appointed by Shah Taimur a governor of this territory. As has already been pointed out, two years after this in 1794, he was given charge of Dera Ismail Khan also. Muhammed Khan Saddozai and his descendants ruled our this part of the country till 1821, when it was conquered by Ranjit Singh. In 1823, Dera Ismail Khan was also taken by the Sikhs, when Saddozai rule finally disappeared from the old Mughal province of Multan.

4. *The Sials and the Kharrals.*

I have explained in another section of this paper, how the Sials and the Kharrals rose into political importance. Mal Khan Sial founded Jhang in 1462. He and his successors ruled over the present Jhang district upto the year 1806 when the last chief of this House was set aside by Ranjit Singh. The most important chiefs in this dynasty were Walidad Khan who died in 1747, his nephew, Inayat Ullah Khan, who ruled from 1747 to 1787, and Ahmad Khan, the last Sial chief, who ruled from 1801 to 1806. This part of the country was ruled by Sikh governors from 1810 to 1832. In the last mentioned year this territory was also handed over to Diwan Sawan Mall.

The Kharrals, who were the rivals of the Sials, ruled the north-western portions of the Montgomery district till the middle of the 18th century, when they were overthrown by the Nakai confederacies of the Sikhs. From this time onward, it were the Sikhs who ruled over Okara and Montgomery tahsils of the district. The politics of this part of the country from this moment were common with the politics of the present day central Punjab.

Among the Nakais there were two confederacies, one with its headquarters at Bahrwal, who held the territories of Chunian, a part of Kasur, and a part of Sharakpur, and the other with its headquarters at Gugera, who held the tahsil of Okara, and who later on took possession of the Kharral country of Kamalia. The Nakais probably came into power in 1756, immediately after the Abdali governor Taimur was forced to retire from Lahore.

5. *The Shaikhs of Hansa Malik, the Pathans of Dipalpur, the Diwan of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra.*

When in 1764, the Sikhs became independent of the Abdali empire, they now began to overrun the territories of the neighbouring Muslim Chiefs. They very easily settled with the marauding tribes of the Wattus and the Dogars, who lived in the neighbouring tahsil of Dipalpur. Most of the people in these two tribes emigrated across the river Sutlej, into the adjoining districts of Minchinabad and Ferozepur. Having driven out the Wattus and the Dogars, the Sikhs of the Bhangi

and Nakai confederacies came into direct touch with the Afghans of Dipalpur, the Shaikhs of Hansa Malik, the Diwans of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra. It appears from 1764 right upto the time of the rise of Ranjit Singh, these different powers carried on a constant war among themselves. In 1800 the Shaikhs of Hansa Malik disappeared, as a political power. But in 1807, the Gugera Nakais who had taken possession of Hansa Malik, were themselves overthrown by Ranjit Singh, and all their territories annexed to his dominions. The Bahrwāl Nakais, in whose family Ranjit Singh was married, survived a few years more, for their territory was annexed by the Maharaja in 1810. In 1807, along with the disappearance of the Gugera Nakais, disappeared also the secular power of the Diwans of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra. In 1831, the old territories of Hansa Malik, Kamalia and Gugera were handed over to Sawan Mall, the governor of Multan. The territory of the Tiwanas in the Thal was conquered by Ranjit Singh in 1816, and handed over in jagir to Hari Singh Nalwa, who held it till his death in 1837, when it was again granted to the Tiwanas in jagir.

6. *The Home Territories of Multan.*

I have so far been dealing with the outlying territories and principalities of the Mughal province of Multan, into which the province had become split up shortly after the death of Aurangzeb. I have now to take up the headquarters Multan. The story of the headquarters will take only a few words. From the narrative given above, it will have become clear, that after the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, the present-day district of Montgomery, tahsils of Toba Tek Singh, Samundari, Shorekot and Jhang, the major portion of tahsil Khushab, the tahsils of Mianwali, Bhakkar, Leiah, Kot Adu, Alipur, and the western portion of tahsil Muzaffargarh, the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sibi, Sukkur, Sindh Frontier and the states of Kacchhi and Bahawalpur, had all become independent of the Subedars authority at Multan. Even the Sutlej tahsils of Multan district, Mailsi, Lodhran, and a part of Shujabad, had been permanently leased out. What remained under the direct rule of the Subedar of Multan, were the three present-day Multan

tahsils of Khanewal, Kabirwala, Multan, and the northern portion of Shujabad, that is to say the territory in between the River Ravi and the old bed of the Bias, together with the eastern portion of the present tahsil of Muzaffargarh district. That was all that was left to the Subedar. That was the extent of the Subedars territories, after the death of Mir Manu in 1753. In the previous year the Mughal province of Lahore, and the remaining portion of Multan had been added to the Abdali empire. In 1752 one Ali Muhammed Khan Khakwani, was appointed governor of Multan by Ahmad Shah Abdali. With short intervals he ruled till 1767, for in that year during the last invasion of Ahmad Shah, he was put to death, and one Shuja Khan who was a distant collateral of the king himself, was appointed governor. But when the king returned to Kandahar, another chief Haji Sharif Khan got himself appointed to the post. On this Shuja Khan made representations to the Abdali King. A Hindu officer Ramjidass was sent to make this representation on his behalf. But Ramjidass got himself appointed the governor, and sent his chaprasi Sharif Beg to take charge of the fort on his behalf. Sharif Beg took possession of the fort. Ramjidass was killed, and Sharif Beg, the chaprasi, himself became the governor. But now he became afraid of the Abdali king. In order to protect himself, he invoked the assistance of the Sikhs of the Bhangi confederacy. The Sikhs thereupon took possession of the city. They ruled the city and its neighbouring territories from 1771 to 1779. In the last mentioned year King Taimur Shah reconquered Multan. Shuja Khan had in the meantime died in 1774, so his son Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor. He ruled from 1779 to 1818, when it was conquered by Ranjit Singh. For three years it was ruled by different governors, but in 1821 Diwan Sawan Mall was appointed governor.

In 1738 began the disintegration of the Mughal province of Multan, till at length as I have explained above there were as many as 17 distinct independent powers in the province. After the conquest of Multan by Ranjit Singh the reverse process of integration began. The limited territory of Multan as conquered from Muzaffar Khan was put under Diwan Sawan Mall in 1821. In 1831 the territories taken from the Gugeru Nakais in Montgomery, and from Bahawalpur

in Pakpattan, Mailsi, Lodhran, Shujabad, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan, were added to his charge. In 1832, the Sial country of Jhang was added to his province. In 1849 all these territories were annexed to the British dominion in India. But the political revolutions that took place in the 18th century, have not made it possible so far to re-unite the whole of the Mughal province of Multan under one common administration. Sibi and Kacchhi districts of the old province of Multan, now form part of Baluchistan. But the Derawalis of Dera Ghazi Khan have got still intimate relations in Sibi and Quetta. Dera Ismail Khan now forms part of the Frontier Province. But it is a fact that culturally the two Deras are still one. Bahawalpur is now a separate State, but it has still very intimate relations with Multan. Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts, which formerly formed part of the Mughal province of Multan, now form part of Sindh. Perhaps it was this old connection of Shikarpur with Multan, which induced Ranjit Singh to try to get possession of the district.

BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA IN 1841.

BY PRINCE ALEXIS SOLTYKOFF.

(Translated and Edited by H. L. O. Garrett).

[The author, Prince Alexis Soltykoff, belonged to a distinguished Russian family. He visited India in the years 1841 and 1842, and his account of his travels, in the form of letters to his relations, was published in Paris in 1851. The portion relative to his experiences in Northern India has already been translated by me and has appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. I give below the sections describing his visit to Bombay and Calcutta in 1841.]

BOMBAY, MARCH 18TH, 1841.

Here I am in India as you see. I have taken forty days to get here from London, two only being by land, though this is called the Overland route. It is called rapid travelling, though to me it has seemed long and tedious enough. I shudder to think that a similar ordeal awaits me a year hence, for I cannot return before. I have been here some days but feel still bewildered at having tumbled all at once into so strange a world and I cannot collect my thoughts to write as I should wish.

In the midst of a forest of palms is the large city of Bombay, inhabited by 280,000 Indians and Parsis, men nearly naked or dressed in white, their skin bronze coloured, and their faces and sometimes their shoulders and arms smeared with paint, often wearing turbans of gauze, red, white, rose, or violet in colour, with ornaments of gold and silver on their feet, hands, necks, noses and ears, and with flowers with a very strong scent in their hair. Grotesque little Indian temples, filled with strange idols, and surrounded by groups of emaciated fakirs, with nails like the talons of an eagle—old women terrible to look upon, with wild hair and haggard eyes—vast stone tanks surrounded by steps whither they carry their dead and where there is always a crowd—the silent chapels of the Parsis—the noisy Indian pagodas—the whole country

permeated with a sickening smell, derived from the musk rats which abound in the city and in all the district of Bombay, and which live underground—the sounds of wild music that never seem to cease—this is what strikes one at first. Passing along the streets one frequently sees lights in little cages, suspended by a thread; these are Hindu weddings which seem curious affairs. They are child marriages; a boy of six to ten is married to a girl of five or six. They are quite naked, but loaded with rings and bracelets, daubed with yellow paint, and surrounded by many men and women; in turn they wash them and smear them with paint; then they give them water with which they fill their mouths and squirt it at each other. These absurdities go on for several days without a break, accompanied by an infernal din of tambourines and fiddles, and the noise is past belief. All is trumpery here except the imposing forests of palm trees. And imagine, in the middle of all this, excellent roads upon which smart English riders pass to and fro and English ladies dressed in the latest London or Paris fashions; side by side with this poetry of the olden days are all the refinements of modern civilization. When one drives round the suburbs and sees in the midst of wonderful trees and flowers the beautiful English country houses built in the Italian style, one could almost imagine oneself at Palermo; but, when one sees these naked long-haired men against a background of bright, green banana trees, dark cocoa-nut palms, or elegant cabbage palms, one's imagination seems to carry one to South America.

The Governor of Bombay has a magnificent palace in a fine park, called Parel. When one arrives, one sees on the broad outside stair way Indian servants sitting, dressed in uniforms adorned with the English arms. One enters a huge and very lofty hall, along the whole length of which a huge fan is attached to the ceiling, and is kept in motion by means of cords. The windows are covered with blinds made of fragrant grasses and kept constantly moist. It is always cool there, despite the suffocating heat outside. The Governor of Bombay, Sir James Carnack ¹ (sic) had left Parel at this time to

¹ Major Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart. He retired in the following month and was to have been succeeded by Sir W. Macnaghten, but the latter was assassinated in Kabul on December 23rd, 1841—Editor,

occupy another country house rather more remote, and situated near the sea, on a secluded hill called Malabar Point, where the tops of the palm trees are perpetually waving in the fresh sea breeze. Sir J. Carnack received me most kindly, and invited me to attend a party given in honour of the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.¹ He has even offered to put me up at Parel; but, as I wanted to remain in the city, I declined—a fatal mistake, for which I suitably atoned in the suffocating heat and insects of the Black Town. To-day there is a ball at Government House, and I understand Parsis and Indians are among the guests. The English society in Bombay is very large. There are no good hotels here and, for that reason, I have taken up my quarters in the upper part of a deserted Parsi house, Baron Loewe Weimar occupying the lower half. We have taken the house jointly. There are huge dilapidated halls without doors or windows and with several terraces. The birds fly into my rooms as if there were no one there, and appear quite decided not to let my presence upset their regular habits. Near us a wedding is going on, which means drums and fiddles all day and night without ceasing. Miss Emma Roberts is quite correct in saying in her charming book that Bombay appears a continuous festival the whole year round; it is true enough, but it is a barbaric festival. Ordinarily in the evening a strange sight is to be seen at my house—the dance of the nautch girls. The nautch girls form a class apart, a very numerous one, whose sole occupation is to sing, to dance and to chew betel, an astringent leaf, which is said to be good for the stomach, and which turns the mouth red. These dancers are graceful and refined, dressed in a gauze material half gold or silver, and half pink, white violet, or cerise, with their naked feet loaded with rings and chains, which make a noise like spurs though rather more silvery in tone, when they strike the ground with their heels. Their movements are unlike anything one has ever seen, and so charming in their originality and gracefulness, their songs so mournful and wild their gestures so gentle and voluptuous and sometimes lively, and lastly the music that accompanies them is so discordant, that it is very difficult to give any idea of it all. They are always

¹ The Prince is anticipating. In 1841 Lord Clyde was only a simple Colonel in command of the 98th Regiment on its way to China for the Opium War.

followed by wild looking men who advance and retire before them, strumming on their instruments and striking them with their feet.

And when one considers that this dance of unknown significance probably goes back to dim antiquity and that, for thousands of years, such girls have repeated it, without knowing what they are doing, one is lost in a dream of the mysteries of this marvellous India. These girls in great numbers, and others who are not dancing girls, occupy entire streets, the high lightly built houses of which are rather Chinese in appearance. These houses are lit at night, music is to be heard, and one can enter freely. But the actual masters of the country do not appreciate these Indian Terpsichores. Yesterday at my house one of these mystic dances was rudely interrupted by some English people, who frightened these delicate girls by dragging them off in a valse. They were so upset by this treatment, that they threw themselves on the ground weeping, and tried for some time to retire.

Too much occupied with material affairs, the English take hardly any pleasure in what is original, or rather exquisite in India ; such for them is trivial and vulgar. In general they despise everything which differs from the accepted ideas of their own country. It is in vain that India unrolls herself before their eyes, graceful and simple, savage and immense. The only scenery they care for is that of the parks which they appreciate. Near the English houses in India, everything Eastern is carefully avoided. The first care, in making a garden or a park, is to cut down all the palms, pull up all plants of an Indian character and substitute for them cassarinas, a tree which resembles the pine of the North, and grass lawns, which they keep up with great difficulty. Such is the extent of English patriotism. Do they feel that melancholy sentiment which we call homesickness ? These men, whose very sensations are governed by invariable rules, distrust a natural beauty so marvellous in its simplicity and so infinitely varied in its combination of lines and colours, which the artist regards with an inexhaustible interest. The unstudied grace of the inhabitants of India is a closed book to them, for the natural stifles the artificial sense ; and indeed what is more deplorable than the grotesque fashion which disfigures our women compared with the primitive but admirable

costume of the Indian women ? They were kind enough to show me the docks, the Mint, the steamers, the schools and other curiosities, and also the Fort. Imagine how delighted I was. The Government is most paternal. The Indian inhabitants, Hindu and Parsi, have only to think of their pleasures and their religious ceremonies, while an excellent police force looks after their safety.

Calcutta, October 9th, 1841.

After a voyage from Madras of four or five days in a fine merchant vessel, we arrived in great heat at one of the numerous mouths of the Ganges called the Hughli. At the entrance is Tiger Island which is full of these animals and covered with thick forest. Our Captain told me that one of his colleagues had been unwise enough to anchor too near the island and that the tigers swam out at night and killed several sailors.

The shores of Bengal were visible on either side, flat and wooded and very green. Bengali boats hailed us and bought along provisions as well as newspapers and notices from Calcutta. Every one wished to learn the news from China * or to know what carriages, horses, etc., were for sale in Calcutta or the price of indigo, opium, etc. We turned our glasses upon the vessels entering like ourselves or departing and upon several corpses floating on the water. You know that here instead of burying their dead they throw them into the Ganges unless they burn them. We passed a ruined pagoda quite isolated in the forest. Yet there is celebrated there every year a festival which attracts thousands of people so that a camp is formed there in a very short time. I have heard that human sacrifices are offered at this festival and that mothers throw their children into the river. But since the English Government has been established in the country, the English police do not permit this and hand those infanticides over to the magistrates who treat them as murderers, as they do those who take part in a *Sati*. In all parts of India not belonging to the English this practice flourishes as in the past. Many people have told me that the *Satis* are stupefied with opium beforehand that their courage may not fail. I think this is unusual ; for I do not care to belittle the courage of these wretched victims.

* The Opium War was in progress.

We are now approaching Calcutta in tow of a tug. On either bank are the fine country houses of the rich English, of a simple Italian style. From the mouth of the river to Calcutta is about 200 miles and the passage takes two, three or even four days for one has to have a tug and cannot travel at night. Last night there was an accident. A little Bengali boat with four Indians in it was tied to our vessel and used by us for messages. Suddenly as we were turning rather quickly the little boat got too near us and capsized. Three of the Indians caught hold of the vessel but the fourth was carried away by the current. However he could swim and the only risk was that he might be seized by a crocodile or a shark but a boat was quickly lowered and picked him up.

We are just about to anchor at Calcutta. "Here we are," as one says when one arrives in London, and I must see about landing. Just at present the place is more like Petersburg than any other place; a river as broad as the Neva, lines of European buildings, flat ground and many ships.

Here I am installed in Calcutta at the Spence Hotel and I have just sent to Bagshaw and Co., the bankers, for my letters.

October 12th, 1841.

I am well enough except that I find the great heat trying and sometime when walking I feel quite overcome. Yesterday I went to the English theatre, comedy and drama. The actors were good and the hall a nice one with immense *punkahs* waving all the time.

The promenade in the evening on the bank of the river is a very lively sight and extends for at least a mile. It rather reminds me of that of the 1st May at Petersburg except that there are very few pedestrians: it lasts only for an hour at sunset. A band plays and yesterday they played 'Norma' quite passably. It is a fine city; there are a number of palaces between which are grass lawns surrounded by iron or stone railings. Trees are avoided as they cut off the breeze which blows only occasionally.

The Governor-General's palace is like a portion of the Winter Palace at Petersburg. The others are in a plain Italian style with terraces and large verandahs shut in by Venetian blinds and supported

on slender columns. Everything is in beautiful order. The Spence Hotel where I am staying is very large and luxurious. Before my window on the lawn and the terraces, large birds called philosophers, which I have never seen before, are walking about.

I dined with the Governor-General (Lord Auckland) yesterday. We did not sit long at table but after dinner hastened down the huge staircase. A number of carriage and servants in uniform came up to the entrance of the palace, every body bundled in pell-mell, and off we went to the theatre in a cloud of dust. In this crush the red gold-embroidered uniforms and the nodding white plumes of the aides-de-camp of the Governor stood out against the torches of the servants and the jewels of the ladies shone with a strange brilliance.

When one leaves the fashionable quarter and enters the city (for, as in London, the best part is at one end) one enters narrow but decent streets, where are the native bazaar and a nearly naked population not so black as that of Madras and with long hair.

A great Hindu festival is preparing and will last two days, I hear idols will be thrown into the river in the midst of tumultuous crowds. I have just been invited to dine with a lady whom I met at Lord Auckland's—Mrs. Prinsep. Her husband, a very nice man, is one of the principal officials of the Company*: her house is one of the finest in Calcutta. The furniture is good but plain. As is the custom here, there are no useless ornaments in the room. Coolness is the main object. Any furniture which is not absolutely necessary would intercept the air which is circulated artificially. Hence emptiness reigns in the palaces of Calcutta.

October 15th, 1841.

I wish to tell you something pleasant about the capital of India; but the heat is terrible and the country is damp and low-lying; there is no air to breathe and one feels very slack. All the English people except the strenuous ones get up at 5 when the sky is still a lovely rose pink and go and take the air on the river bank in a carriage or on horse back, for exercise is dangerous and soon after 6 the sun is so

* H. T. Prinsep, Member of the Governor-General's Council—1835; Director of the E. I. Company 1850—1858; Council of India 1858—1874.

strong and the heat so overwhelming that one feels faint ; one goes indoors and the *punkah* gives an artificial coolness.

In the evening after 5 the carriage re-appear on the corso. on the bank of the Ganges and pale forms are to be seen stretched in them. The life of the English here is one long struggle against death owing to their method of life, while the natives who take neither meat nor wine are not similarly affected. The latter only eat light food, rice, fruit, arrowroot, sago, vegetables, milk food, or wheat cakes, and only drink rice water, or cocoanut milk, or butter milk. They face the sun with their white turbans and even without them, for most of them are completely naked ; this is not habit it is a difference of nature. English children born in India feel the sun much and nearly always have to be sent to England as much for their health as their education. The fact is that the sun has a most disastrous effect upon Europeans. Yesterday when going on board a boat to visit the most beautiful botanic garden in the world, I noticed a bad smell in spite of the fresh evening air, and looking round I saw a corpse in the water bumping against the boat. One sees so many of them that death loses all its terror.

Several of Tippu's children are here.* I asked to see them this morning finding myself by accident near their house when out for a drive, but was told it was not the right time.

I drive about Calcutta and its suburbs with four Indians, a coachman, a footman and two runners who sometimes run in front and at the side of the carriage to clear off pedestrians by their shouts and sometimes hold on behind the carriage to rest ; they also run errands and look after the horses when we stop.

The Indian society in Calcutta is very civilized. I have just had a written invitation to a nautch or Indian dance in five or six days which will last three evenings in succession. I saw this morning an equally civilized Hindu merchant, one of the richest in India ; he hopes to go to Europe shortly with an English friend and to begin with Naples to acclimatize himself gradually. His name is Dwarka Nath Tagore and the Englishman is Mr. Parker, a very nice young married man. You will hear of them.

* Moved from Vellore after the Mutiny of 1806.

The jackals howl all night in the streets of Calcutta, a most extraordinary thing to me. I hear them from the Hotel Spence which is in the most fashionable quarter near the Governor's palace, and several others, and the finest shops. There is a sinister sound about these owls on four legs which they call jackals. Their cries are doleful and lugubrious and one can picture them in the most dismal desert. Volnay in his "Ruins" mentions jackals as typical of solitude. This passage struck my imagination and ever since jackals have had a sinister and mysterious significance for me.

October 22nd.

I have been staying with Mr. Petiot who is in business here : a very nice agreeable man. At Chandernagore there is a lack of formality in great contrast to the formal English life. It is little place on a piece of ground about six or seven leagues in circumference and very lively and gay. There are 40,000 Indian inhabitants who are French subjects. The rich Indians give nautches to which Europeans are invited. At Chandernagore I saw two of these dances. The hall was well lit ; in the middle a railing surrounded the four or five dancing girls and their musicians and the master of the house and his family with their distinguished guests, behind the railing a mass of people, for every one is admitted, which seems very hospitable. This mass was composed of people nearly naked and bronze in colour with calm faces and features with some distinction in many cases. At the end of the hall was a statue of the Goddess Durga, in whose honour the fête took place. The statue was of painted wood, rather more than life size, ornamented with gold and silver and brightly lit up. The different coloured dresses of the dancing girls are curious. One of them seemed more important than the others and while resting she sat on the floor and smoked a silver hookah. Her rose coloured gauze pant-loons, tight at the top and loose below so as to form a kind of skirt, had seams trimmed with lace, three on each leg coming to a point above and below. Her musician was a fine young man in a tight gauze garment with a head dress of the same material and a fine head of hair, like one of our deacons. The women were small and graceful and their teeth were black, though they were quite young.

October 27th.

I shall go to Benares by the first boat. Unfortunately the journey takes 20 days as it is against the current. But I hope the cabins are good and one can land every day if one wishes.

Since my return from Chandernagore I have been to several nautches or parties at Indian houses. Vast courtyards were arranged as rooms by covering them with a ceiling with hanging lamps and putting down canvas carpets. The dancing girls were ugly. Only one was passable, and I doubt if you would agree even to that small praise as she was so small. At these parties I met several rajahs and Indian gentlemen. They imitate the English fashions and some of them wear a curious mixed costume and drive their own carriages. But there was one young man who wore Delhi dress and affected a purely Oriental style, although his brother wore European dress. However this rajah, Krishna Bahadur, speaks excellent English. He was 20, very good looking, with long hair like a deacon, a slender figure, a gauze robe in the old Persian style, and pantaloons of a very thin material very wide at the bottom and so long that they covered his feet and even prevented his walking freely.

The nautches lasted three days after which came the worship of the gods and goddesses in whose honour they had been given; great painted wooden statues specially made for the occasion.

There was Durga, a red goddess with ten arms, another white goddess on her left who, according to the Indians, corresponded to Minerva; another sky blue goddess, a yellow god with an elephant head; and a wretched green man with moustaches and whiskers (they are of very ancient use in India) knocked down and devoured by a fabulous lion with horns, and transfixed by a silver spear into the bargain, which Durga plunged into his heart while the lion consumed his stomach. All these were surrounded by an immense circle of minor deities of the Hindu Pantheon. On the fourth day all these idols were transported in the middle of an enormous crowd and amid a deafening noise of drums and trumpets to the Ganges and thrown in,

I went in a carriage to see the show. In the crowd a swarthy long haired young man rode past in a tight coat of cloth of gold with a velvet cap embroidered in gold with a gold tassel.

My Muhammadan servant who was on the box turned round and told me that this was the grandson of Tippu Sahib, but "not the best of them," for there are several brothers. Some minutes later he showed me a carriage in which three people in white oriental costume were sitting, one of them he said was the *good* grandson of Tippu Sahib probably meaning the one who paid best. He speaks English, he added, and at the same time he got down from his seat to speak to him with that familiarity which exists among all classes in the East: on his return he said that Tippu wished to see me and asked me to bring my carriage near his. I then made his acquaintance. He wore Eastern dress and long hair which made him appear middle aged. The father of these princes could not endure his confinement and had hardly been brought to Calcutta before he blew his brains out. They were first at Vellore but were moved to Calcutta after the Vellore Mutiny (1806). At present they go where they like, I think, for I fancy I saw one of the brothers in London. Since then this prince has been to see me to ask me to take as my travelling companion a broken down land owner, but I politely refused.

November 7th, 1841.

The day before yesterday I passed some hours at the country house of my agent, the Europeanised Dwarka Nath Tagore. Before dinner we rode in the garden on an elephant to get an appetite. After dinner Meyerbeer and Donizetti were played on the organ: but the jackals made such a ghastly noise outside that one could hear nothing. They cry like children in distress. The master of the house appeared very upset at this mischance.

November 9th.

In four days I shall be off to Benares if the boat sails as announced. My baggage has gone on by another boat for there is little room in the passenger boat which is otherwise comfortable enough. It is not a steamer but a large boat with bright and airy cabins towed by a steamer. It will take 18 or 19 days, I understand. I often walk on

the bank of the Ganges at Calcutta. There is an animated scene which extends for several miles. One sees a crowd of Indian bathing there. One day there was a poor young man prostrated by sickness and as thin as a skeleton, lying on the sand near the water while his friend sadly watched beside him. Near by was a solemn looking Brahmin who had just painted his face, shoulders and breast and was sitting on a wooden staging admiring himself in a little glass. On another large staging covered with leaves and mats instead of parasols was quite a party of Brahmins. Then there were fakirs smeared with chalk and wild disordered hair. Sometimes the hair was twisted round the head like a monstrous turban and covered with red or white powder. A poor old dying man had been brought here in a palanquin for the fresh air to revive him ; his haggard eye and wasted appearance indicated that death was very near. A graceful young man, emerging from the water spread out his long hair and let his brown body dry in the last rays of the setting sun. A dead body was being conveyed to the Mortuary. The roof of this building was occupied by numerous cormorants and vultures, and other birds wheeled in the air or walked round this melancholy spot. A party of Brahmin women, slim and graceful, descended to the river to bathe, covered with fine draperies of red, green or lilac muslin. Further on they were burning corpses on a pyre and the odour of these spread along the bank lively with so many different scenes.

Yesterday I saw the sick young man apparently much better ; I was surprised for the other day he seems motionless and almost lifeless. I gave him a rupee which seemed to please him. His friend, perhaps it was his brother, was no longer with him, he had finished his honourable task and gone about his ordinary business. A Brahmin retiring from bathing went proudly by with his monkey on his shoulder : both had their foreheads painted red. From time to time old fashioned carriages pass by filled with rajahs or Indian gentlemen, old and young, large and small, and obscure persons who dwell in the noisome slums of this strange capital. These are naked, with wild disordered hair or wear turbans decorated with plumes and faded gauze or brocade garments. Servants naked or in rags hang on to the springs of the old carriages, while others run by the side.

November 13th.

By the side of the Mortuary there is another building with a courtyard looking on to the river. There they burn the dead. I went there to-day. There was a strong smell of burning flesh and I saw two pyres in flame, but I could not see any human remains among the embers though my servant, holding his nose, pointed out bones here and there. Personally I saw nothing and finding it useless to approach nearer, I yielded to the request of my Muhammadan servant and left this unclean place. There were some Hindu undertakers men sitting there who made some joke or other which conveyed nothing to me who do not know any of their languages. My boat is put off till the 18th, rather annoying but fortunately it is much cooler. To-day at 7 in the morning it was 16° Reaumur in the shade and 22° in the day time. The Indians shiver in the morning, wrapped in their thin clothing, if they wear any, and warm their hands at wood fires. Yet they continue to bathe in the river and the tanks morning and evening, both men and women. This practice is religiously observed. I have just stopped the *punkah*.

The other day I was dining alone in my room and my European servants, Francois and Theodore in the room at the side, for it is the usual custom here and in Asia generally that the servants receive the dishes after their masters. As there was no Indian servant about except a young Hindu who was putting the *punkah*, I told him to carry a dish to the servant, but to my great astonishment he refused to do so with a strange jeering smile. Rather taken aback, I signed to him to leave the room; but afterwards I reflected that the poor lad was a Hindu and that the meat we were eating was for him as terrible as human flesh could be for us and that it was a great concession on his part even to assist at our terrible meal.

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER ADDRESSED BY WILLIAM
MOORCROFT TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID
OCHTERLONY, BART., K.G.C.B.

BY G. L. CHOPRA.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of great activity in the field of geographical explorations in Northern India and the regions lying beyond it. Fresh opportunities for such explorations were now provided by the newly-established British connection with the tracts beyond the river Jamna as the result of the visits of Lord Lake and later of Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe to the Panjab. The circumstances which led to these visits are matters of common history and need not be repeated here. But the most important outcome of the Treaty of Amritsar of 1809 was the extension of the British frontier westward some two hundred miles—from the banks of the river Jamna to those of the river Satluj. This meant the beginning of a direct political and economic contact between the British Power and the Sikh kingdom, which, in turn created new occasions for the former, through their diplomatic agents and the like, of feeling closer concern and evincing keener interest in the affairs of the Panjab than had hitherto been necessary or possible. For one thing, the rapidly increasing military resources of the Sikhs, necessitated the maintenance of a vigilant watch over the policy and pursuits of their ruler.

In fact, the English attention began now to be drawn not only to the adjacent territory of the Panjab, but also to Bahawalpur, Sindh, Afghanistan and even Persia; and the political records of the period are full of intelligence concerning these countries. Elphinstone and Malcolm visited Kabul and Persia respectively just about the same time as Metcalfe came to the Panjab, and the official and private accounts of their travels furnished stimulating materials for study to many Englishmen in Calcutta, who saw in their safe journeys to and back from those countries the possibilities of further investigations.

And though the official British Policy from 1809 to 1828 remained one of non-interference in the affairs of the countries on the other side of Satluj, continued diplomatic contact with them kept the possibility of commercial expansion in that direction alive in the minds of many far-seeing and enterprising Englishmen.

Among this latter class of men the name of William Moorcroft stands pre-eminent, for his were the most enterprising and hazardous efforts to penetrate into Central Asia from the direction of India. These efforts were made not only without the encouragement of the Company's Government, but even without their approval. Moorcroft undertook his first journey as early as 1811, and accompanied by Captain (afterwards General Sir John) Hearsey crossed the Himalaya by the Niti Pass and reached the great plain between it and the Keun-Lunchain. He examined the sources of the Indus and the Satluj and of the two famous lakes of Ravan and Manasarowara. He was the first British traveller to cross the Himalaya.

Without going into the details of Moorcroft's early life and career, it may be mentioned that he was a native of Lancashire, was educated at Liverpool in medicine and had then turned to the study of veterinary science. In pursuit of this latter he went over to France for a time and then returned to London, though only to be forced by his private circumstances to come out to Bengal in 1808 as superintendent of the company's military stud. This stud was instituted for the purpose of improving the indigenous breed of horses for service in cavalry. Moorcroft soon realised that no essential or permanent improvement in the quality of horses could be made without the infusion of new blood into the native stock, and he vigorously urged the introduction of Turcoman horses from Balkh and Bokhara into India. These he regarded as much superior to the Arab variety. This was the chief aim of his first journey, as it partly was of his second one also.

But his great aim, during this later journey was to investigate and explore the possibilities of establishing a trade route between the company's dominion in India and the trans-Himalayan districts and inaugurating commercial intercourse between them. Having wrested

from the Government a reluctant acquiescence in his project to proceed towards Bokhara for the purpose of procuring horses, he obtained permission to carry with him a quantity of English goods, chiefly cottons, broadcloth and hardware, to the value of between three and four thousand pounds. These belonged for the most part to two firms of Calcutta, namely Messrs. Palmer & Co., and Mackillop & Co., who had taken the risk of incurring loss in the hope of creating fresh markets for British commerce in Central Asia. Thus equipped, he started on his journey towards the end of 1819. Of his companions only one was European—Mr. George Trebeck—who, at the time of undertaking this journey was quite a young man, and whose father had at first been a solicitor in London but had lately settled in the same capacity in Calcutta. The young Trebeck was entrusted with the preparation of geographical notes, which he did regularly at least until the party quitted the Panjab, and also made valuable contributions to the account of the journey by way of delineating objects of art or nature and making sketches and drawings. Moorcroft speaks of his friend as being always alert, active, and cheerful under most trying conditions, and Lieut. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes remarks, when describing his burial place at Mazar: "This young man has left a most favourable impression of his good qualities throughout the country which we passed."

The circumstances of Moorcroft's journey are described at length in the two volumes entitled, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab*, etc., etc., edited by the great orientalist, the late Prof. H. H. Wilson. These volumes describe his rambles from 1819 to 1825 and were first printed in 1841. It was in the course of these wanderings that the traveller along with his party descended into the plains of the Panjab from the direction of the Kangra Valley. His progress through the sikh kingdom and particularly his visit to Lahore and conversation with Ranjit Singh are of fascinating interest to all students of sikh history. Moorcroft made his way to Ladakh and stayed for some time at its capital, Lé. Disapproving of his long sojourn there, the Government suspended his pay and allowances during his absence. He tried strenuously to gain admission into Chinese Tartary, but did not succeed. From Lé he proceeded to

Kashmir. "His zealous inquiries into the management of the shawl-wool goat and the various processes of the Kashmir shawl manufacture together with the specimens he sent home, are allowed to have contributed much to the improvement of the shawl industry at home." Moorcroft was perhaps the first European in modern times to have travelled through the Pir Panjal range; and he made his way to Kabul by way of Attock and Peshawar. His request to the Government for a letter to the King of Bokhara was refused. Nevertheless he reached Bokhara by traversing the route from Kabul, which until then was new to Europeans, and received a kind and courteous audience from the king. Moorcroft writes: "Before I leave Turkistan I mean to penetrate into that tract that contains perhaps the finest horses in the world, but with which all intercourse has been suspended during the last five years. The expedition is full of hazard, but *le jeu vaut bien la chandelle*. He started from Bokhara on the return journey on 4th-5th August 1825. With a few servants he separated from his party to visit Maimana. But he was taken by robbers and he died, by some accounts of fever, by others of poison, at a place called Andekhui after a few days' illness. His body was brought on a camel to Balkh and was buried outside the walls. George Trebeck was too ill at the time to investigate the circumstances leading to his death and shortly afterwards he himself died of fever at Mazar. Thus ended the careers of these two enterprising Englishmen.

It remains now only to reproduce the letter which has occasioned the writing of this short biographical sketch of the author. This letter has so far remained obscure and has, so far as we know, never previously been brought into print. It is written in Moorcroft's own handwriting at the time when he was visiting Ranjit Singh at Lahore. The purpose or the object with which it was written is set forth in clear and unambiguous language, and it affords, in addition, some vivid glimpses into the manner and character of Ranjit Singh.

Note.—This letter is published through the courtesy of Mr. M. G. Singh, Secretary of the Panjab Public Library, Lahore, who has recently acquired it through Messrs. Francis Edwards, Ltd., of London, who obtained possession of it through private sale.

LAHORE, *May 12th*, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,

In March, from the neighbourhood of Mundee, I took the liberty of informing you of my determination to visit this city for the purposes of endeavouring by personal representation to Raja Runjeet Singh, to remove the obstacles then opposing my progress towards Tartary, and to prevent the occurrence of others wherever his influence might extend in the line of my projected route.

To this resolve I was impelled by a well-founded distrust of the correctness of representations from the parties obstructing my advance, and by the numerous advantages personal conference possesses over written recital in a good case.

At the same time I was not unconscious of the disadvantage of appearing before the Raja in an equivocal character, and without being introduced by you. But my situation presented no alternative save that which my judgment condemned, and which consisted in waiting at Mundee the result of a reference, that, if unfavourable would be directly destructive to my project, and if favourable, might be so in appearance only.

Unaccredited by the Government I could not consistently ask for an introduction from you, and the difficulty was increased by the advance I had actually made without having secured your previous sanction of this measure. But as the consequences of a personal reference were likely to affect me alone, I determined to confront them, and began my journey in the hope that it might be effected without molestation, though some difficulty and delay might reasonably be expected.

Having traversed the Raj of Katoch, and nearly gone through that of Juswa in ten days, I was stopped at the Fort of Rajpoora but was speedily allowed to proceed by the interposition of an intelligent but eccentric officer, who confidently took upon himself the responsibility of the measure. At Hoshiarpur I was less fortunate, my detention there lasting from the 3rd to the 29th of April.

By Meer Izzat Oollah Khan I despatched the accompanying representation No. 1 to Lala Shecodeal at Phalour, with the expecta-

tion of his being induced by it to allow me to continue my journey, but in this I was disappointed although he was prevailed upon to permit the Meer to go to the Raja, an alternative I directed him to press if my immediate progress should be interdicted.

Discussions at Amritsar with the Sardar Desa Singh and the Fugcar Commander of the Fort of Gobind Garh, brother of the Hakeem Uzeez-oo-Deen, detained Meer Izzat Oollah at that City until the return of the Raja from Mooltan, when he called the Meer to Lahore, and a Guard and Mehmandar were directed to accompany me in my journey thither.

On the 6th instant I arrived at the Garden of Shalimar and after removing to another Garden and Bungla contiguous to the Fort, had an audience of the Raja, on the evening of the 8th.

Runjeet Singh received me with much civility and appeared gratified with the presents I offered to his acceptance. These consisted of a Brace of Pistols with Spring Bayonets by Nock, a Brace of Pocket Pistols with their panels rifled, a sword by Gile, a most highly finished Model of a piece of Brass Ordnance by Mr. Donnithorne and some Chourees and Pods of Musk.

The Raja exhibited fifty of his best Horses in hand, the next morning fifty more mounted and ridden according to the Sikh mode of training, the morning after that two Regiments of Infantry composed of Sikhs, Goorkhas and natives of Hindoostan armed, accoutred and exercised in imitation of the Company's Sepahces, and more Horses, and yesterday sent the remainder of two hundred reserved for his own riding to be exercised before me. He then desired me to select one, which I begged leave to decline doing, until my return.

It is not surprizing that professedly desirous to obtain the finest Horses in his own dominions and in those of the weaker and neighbouring States, Runjeet Singh should assemble in his Stables so large a body of such Horses as money alone could not probably bring into the possession of any other individual in the more eastern parts of Asia. But notwithstanding the excellence of his Horses of Dhunnee Ghep, the exhibition of his Horses of Bokhara obtained as presents from the late Fatteh Khan and his Brothers and by purchase, leaves

a doubt whether more perfect animals are not to be found in the more western parts of Asia, and confirms the propriety of searching in those countries for individuals to improve the breed of Horses in British Hindustan, *for military purposes.*

Received with increasing familiarity at each successive audience I made an attempt subsequently to the last, through the Hakeem Uzeez-oo-Deen, to introduce British Merchandize direct from British Merchants into the Raja's dominions, and to ensure its safety by a fixed duty, according to the Scheme No. 2, which I have now the honour of submitting for your consideration.

Meer Izzat Oollah was directed by the Raja to attend the discussion of this subject, and after a general view of the benefits which would arise from an increase of commercial intercourse between Hindoostan and the Panjab had been presented, according to my instructions by the Meer, Runjeet Singh observed that as the matter was altogether new and important, he could not give a decided answer until he should have consulted you. For should he accede to the proposition without consulting your advice, and any English Merchant berobbed, it might lead to unpleasant discussions and expose him to an enquiry from you why he had not previously asked your opinion.

For his own part he professed an unwillingness to receive duties upon any Merchandize coming from the Sahib log, but expressed an apprehension that some of the Sikh Chiefs, through whose Jagheers it might pass, might be inclined to exact duties on its transit, and that when he granted the Districts to which he alluded, he left the power of levying duties wholly to the discretion of the Jagheerdars.

On this it was remarked, that whether he should allow British Merchandize to enter and pass through his dominions without paying or on paying duties, it was equally improbable that his Jagheerdars would attempt to disturb arrangements sanctioned by him.

On this point I must observe that between the Satluj and Lahor on the road from Lodehana, there is no other Jagheerdar than Fatteh Singh Aloowala, nor between Lahor and Mooltan than Kuruk Singh. From the connections of the former with the British Government

as holding lands protected by them, no opposition is to be expected, and it is equally improbable that such a son as the latter would venture to impugn the will of such a father.

To the irregularity of the project proposed originating with me I have only to plead the obvious and perhaps general good its adoption might produce to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, the duty I owe to the Merchants, who have entrusted part of their interests to my charge, and the favourableness of the opportunity.

I was not so vain, or so sanguine, as to expect that a Chief so *cautious* as Runjeet Singh, would adopt at once, a proposition so pregnant with probability of incident, and especially when proceeding from an individual unannounced, and introduced by himself, in such a manner, and on an occasion much calculated to excite distrust in minds of more confiding habits than that of the Sikh Sovereign.

But, from various circumstances, I was led to expect that it would be received with attention and to hope it might take the turn it actually has done.

This matter, most properly, now rests with you and it would not fall into better hands. I do not see after what the Raja has said how he can sink it altogether, if it be not entirely agreeable to him, without reference to you, and I shall take the occasion of the audience I am to have this day to apprise him that I have written to you regarding it, which will afford you an opportunity of introducing the subject in case of his silence, should it appear to you likely to prove beneficial to the cause of commerce. I know full well that the opinions of commercial men and statesmen in Calcutta are divided as to the demand, which exists, or may be created in the north-western parts of Asia for British merchandize.

Your friend, Mr. Palmer has given an unequivocal testimony of his belief of its improbability and in this he is joined by Mr. Mackillop.

In aiming at the introduction of British merchandize into Runjeet Singh's dominions for sale, I was influenced principally by the fondness the Sikhs entertain for gay attire, and by the ample means great numbers apparently possess for acquiring it.

At the same time it seemed highly proper to keep in view facilities for a passage to Kabool, Kundhar and the more western countries, although the confusion now prevailing in them may not speedily subside into a state favourable to commerce.

These however were less objects of immediate interest than a safe passage for British goods into Tartary by the way of Mundeë and Koolloo, to the Capital of Ludagh, from which it is confidently hoped they will go to Yarkund and be diffused over every part of Chinese and Oosbuk Toorkistan.

In laying the foundation for this commerce it may be necessary for English Merchants to incur the risk attending pushing on their wares towards the countries in question beyond the boundaries of Ludagh, but after two or three adventures conducted with great caution, I am willing to hope that Leh will be the Emporium from which British commerce will spread to the northern and western parts of Central Asia.

14th (yesterday) I had a long audience of the Raja and informed him that I had written to you regarding the duty on the introduction of British merchandize to which he observed that he would write to Ræe Anund Singh after having consulted some of his courtiers.

A consultation with courtiers from a Chief who determines and acts singly and independently, is a virtual consignment of the subject to oblivion on his part.

But I trust that what has already taken place, although unauthorized, will furnish sufficient general grounds for the Government to bestow some consideration on the subject provided it can be shown that the cause of British commerce is likely to be materially benefitted by a commercial road to Tartary through the border of a frontier belonging to Runjeet Singh.

The advantages gained by the journey to Lahor are permission to pass through Mundeë and Koolloo and also permission to go through Kashmeer, should I find it expedient from difficulties in other lines of march.

But the permission extends not to the remaining portion of the consignment at Farokhabad, and my stay in Kashmeer, from the wording of the Purwana, exceeds not eight or ten days.

Whether it be desirable to send the goods in question to Leh cannot be determined till I shall have tried that market, and also tried whether a road cannot be opened from Tartary direct into the British frontier.

As to my stay in Kashmeer, its prolongation beyond the period prescribed may not be necessary, but the contrary is also possible from events not under my control.

It is to me highly desirable that the Government should intimate a wish through you that I be not stopped in my progress through the Sikh dominions, as I prosecute no other objects than those which are direct, avowed and well-known to the Sikh Chief and indeed the concession of which could not reasonably be refused to the subject and servant of another in friendly relations.

I think it right to observe that I received in Zeafats (which could not be refused without affront) between 5 and 600 Rs. from Runjeet Singh.

I left, on my part with the Raja's servants two hundred rupees, and gifts to other persons in office which when I shall leave this country will exceed the sum received.

My presents to the Raja were worth about seven hundred rupees and the present he made to me amounted to about a thousand rupees.

Of my communication to you on the subject of my going to Lahor I was of course silent.

Believe me,

My Dear Sir,

Obediently and sincerely yours,
(Sd.) WILLIAM MOORCROFT.

LAHORE :
May 15th, 1820.

Whitehall: 10th April 1764

Sir

I am commanded by the King to transmit
to you, for the Information of the Swiss Cantons,
the inclosed Copy of a Declaration, made the
26th past, at Paris, by the Ministers of the Two
Empresses, the Most Christian King, & the
Kings of Sweden & Poland, for assembling a
Congress at Augsburg, for treating of a general
Peace, which Declaration was delivered here,
on the 31st past, by Prince Gallatin, Envoy
Extraordinary from the Court of Petersbourg; and
the inclosed Copy of the Counter Declaration,
given to that Minister, on the 3^d Instant, will
show, how readily His Majesty, & the King of
Prussia have accepted this Proposal.

I am, with great Truth & Respect,

Sir

Your most Obedient
humble Servant -

A. P. D.

M^{rs} F. Clutter

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF THE ELDER PITT.

The original of the letter, a facsimile of which is here published, it is believed for the first time, is the property of Dr. S. K. Datta, Principal of Forman Christian College. Passing along the Rue de Chaudronniers in Geneva one day last July, Dr. Datta stopped to browse for a little among the attractive old volumes displayed by one M. Slatkine, an old Russian book-seller. Suddenly he came upon three old letters each of which was seen, on closer examination, to bear the signature, "W. Pitt"—the date and subject of the letters indicating the elder Pitt, later to be ennobled as Lord Chatham. The three letters were all addressed to "Mr. (Monsieur?) Villettes"; and one of them bore the announcement of King George. The Third's impending marriage to Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, which took place on the 8th September, 1761. The letter here reproduced is written on one side of a double sheet ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$) of heavy note-paper bearing as its watermark the "fleur-de-lis" (indicating perhaps its French manufacture) placed above the monogram VDL; and it is written with ink which has faded very little. The letter itself was probably written by a Secretary, though there is a curious resemblance between the "P" in *Prussia*, and that in the signature which is unquestionably Pitt's own.¹

"Mr. Villettes," it appears, was Arthur Villettes² the British Minister to the Swiss Cantons, resident in Geneva. The name looks, and is, French: for he was a scion of an old Huguenot family which had migrated to England shortly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The letter explains itself. The "Declaration" and "Counter Declaration" referred to are to be found, printed in full, in the Rev. Francis Thackeray's "History of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham."³ They represent the first overt move in the negotiations for peace which

¹ A facsimile of Pitt's signature is to be found in Volume I of the "Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham," cited in footnote 2.

² Thackeray, "The History of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham," edited by Taylor and Pringle (London, 1838).

³ Pitt, when perhaps records the genesis. See Vol. 4, pp. 48-54.

³ Vol. II, Appendix V, pp. 507-8, 510-11.

were to terminate the European conflict known as the Seven Years' War. Informal and secret *pourparlers* had been in process for many months.¹ The Congress of Augsburg here announced never occurred. The signing of the Family Compact between France and Spain on August 15, 1761, which the Duc du Choiseul, the French Foreign Minister, had hoped would hasten the consummation of Peace had the contrary result of interrupting negotiations and postponing it for nearly 18 months.

ROSS WILSON.

¹ See letter cited in Note 2 above.

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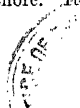
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB

BY J. F. BRUCE.

Modern education in the Panjab traces its origin almost to the beginnings of the British province in 1849. Schools were founded almost immediately by the Board of Administration, which as early as 1850 proposed to the Government of India the establishment at Lahore or Amritsar of a school of a partly collegiate character. The proposal was premature, but the interest of Government in higher education was apparent from the outset.

This interest was greatly stimulated by Sir Charles Wood's famous educational despatch of 1854, which forms a landmark in the history of Indian education. It resulted in three striking measures : the formation of a Department of Education in every province ; the introduction of the system of "grant-in-aid" to educational institutions ; and the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The first and second of these measures were at once adopted in the Panjab, and the achievement of the third—a University—was entertained as a practical ideal.

The Department of Public Instruction was established in the Panjab in January, 1856, and, despite the alarms of the Mutiny, by the end of 1858 the Province boasted about 1,150 village schools, while grants-in-aid helped to maintain several Mission schools. Moreover, as early as 1858 the Director proposed the establishment of a Central College at Lahore. It was still premature, but by that year



1153 NO



Normal schools for the training of teachers had been founded at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi. When British India passed under the direct control of the Crown in 1858, the foundations of education in the Panjab had been well laid.

In April, 1859, the first Secretary of State for India, Lord Ellenborough, issued another important educational despatch, concerned chiefly with the further development of Indian Universities. Two years later, in April, 1861, Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State, sanctioned the foundation of a superior school at Lahore. It was a mixture of a Government High School and a Chiefs' College in separate departments, and it foreshadowed the rise of higher education. In 1862 there were three first grade schools, besides several vigorous Missionary schools. Of the latter, that conducted by the Rev. J. Forman at Lahore was officially described as the best school in the Province.

Collegiate education in the Panjab actually originated on the professional side. As early as 1853 an "anatomical school" was formed at Mian Mir. In 1857 the Civil Surgeon proposed its conversion into a medical school, giving instruction in English and Hindustani, and a Medical College was in fact opened at Lahore in October, 1860.

A proposal had been under consideration for some time to open a Central College at Lahore on the model of Presidency College, Calcutta. It had been forestalled by the Medical Service, but in 1863 it was sanctioned, and in the following year, 1864, Government Colleges were opened at Lahore and Delhi. Dr. G. W. Leitner, M.A., Ph.D. (Freiburg), formerly Professor of Arabic and Muhammadan Law at King's College, London, was appointed Principal at Lahore, and Mr. E. Willmot, B.A. (Cambridge), at Delhi. Both Colleges prepared students for the examinations of the University of Calcutta. In 1866 a Mission College was also opened at Lahore for the same purpose. It was closed in 1869 and reopened in 1886 as Forman Christian College.

In its early years Government College, Lahore, did not prosper greatly. The education of each student was costing Rs. 1,200 a year, and in the First Arts Examination of 1866 there were 17 candidates

from Government Colleges in the Panjab, of whom only 4 passed, including only one from Lahore. These facts evoked rebukes from the Lieutenant-Governor and from the Governor-General, which were apparently deserved, for four students had passed from the Mission College. The conditions did not seem to promise success for the project on this basis to erect a University. But Dr. Leitner emerged undeterred from his severe skirmish with Government. In January, 1865, he had founded the Anjuman-i-Panjab, a propagandist society, which aimed at establishing an independent University of the Panjab upon the basis of the general promise contained in paragraph 24 of the Educational Despatch of 1854.

There were, indeed, serious objections to the attachment of the Panjab Colleges to the University of Calcutta, on account of its unsuitable curriculum and methods of examination, as well as the fact that it was designed primarily to test the results of higher education in Bengal, where conditions differed greatly from those of the Panjab. Feeling on the question ran high. The Principal of Government College, Delhi, described the University of Calcutta as "the Arch-Inspector of Schools of Bengal" and as "an academic solecism." Dr. Leitner employed more direct and practical methods of attack upon the Calcutta connexion, which, he urged, produced in Panjab students a narrow, superficial and unreal knowledge, and divorced them from their own cultural tradition.

The Anjuman-i-Panjab, aimed among other things, at the revival of Oriental learning, education through the vernacular, and the association of the learned and influential classes with the officers of Government." In response to an invitation of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod, in June, 1865, to propose means of improving modern education and literature through the vernacular, Dr. Leitner quickly produced a scheme for an "Oriental University of Upper India," which, in his excited brain, would produce "a new era, in which the *complete* results of science and learning will be imparted to the *whole* people." This scheme was approved at a series of public meetings, attended by native gentry and intellectuals, organised by Dr. Leitner and the Anjuman, and was also supported by an influential group of Englishmen, which included Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. U.

Aitchison, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lepel Griffin and Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner of Lahore.

Funds were promised and collected to assist the realisation of this scheme of an Oriental University. The Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, and the Raja of Kapurthala each promised to subscribe Rs. 2,000 a year; Sir D. McLeod, Rs. 1,000 a year. Other Indians and Europeans promised subscriptions and donations. The Lieutenant-Governor was actively sympathetic, but naturally wished the scheme to be reduced to a practicable form, which should promise success and gain the approval and sanction—as well as the financial support—of the Government of India. He consulted Major Nassau Lees, Principal of the Madrasa College, Calcutta, who advised caution and suggested, instead of an Oriental University, the establishment of a good college which, while conveying a practical knowledge of English and a general acquaintance with European science through the vernacular medium, should be based mainly upon the classical languages and literatures of India. It was a more modest form of Dr. Leitner's scheme.

Discussion of the general proposal and propaganda for its adoption continued during 1866, and in March, 1867, a strong Committee of Europeans and Indians was formed, which put forward a more balanced and practicable scheme for a University and made a public appeal for funds to realise it. It should be noted particularly that the representatives of the Anjuman implicitly abandoned their original scheme and gave support to the newer and more general plan now proposed. The title now suggested was "Lahore University." When the Panjab University College became an accomplished fact, Sir D. McLeod, in his inaugural address on 11th January, 1870, explained the reason for the change. "The use of the term *Oriental*," he said, "did not commend itself to my judgment, as I deemed it certain that, without a large infusion of European literature and science, the object in view could not possibly be attained."

In 1867 the University movement in the Panjab received a fresh stimulus, when in August "The British India Association of the North-West Provinces" proposed to the Government of India the establishment of a vernacular University at Delhi. The Government

of India disapproved the proposal, but referred it to the Government of the Panjab for opinion. All officials and bodies in the Panjab to whom this proposal was submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor strongly opposed it and reiterated their approval of the proposal made by the European Committee in March, 1867, to establish a University at Lahore.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor had obtained donations of Rs. 62,500 from the Maharaja of Kashmir and Rs. 10,000 from the Raja of Kapurthala for the achievement of the local scheme, and these sums were placed in the general fund; while the Maharaja of Patiala placed Rs. 50,000, and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha each Rs. 11,000, in special trust accounts, which were paid over to the University College when it was actually established.

At a public meeting on 12th March, 1868, over which Sir D. McLeod presided, it was resolved that a University of the Panjab should be established at Lahore, which should be a teaching as well as an examining University, employing the professorial system and taking up teaching at the point at which the Government Colleges left it off. After some further amendment of the resolutions of this meeting the Lieutenant-Governor on 27th May, 1868, addressed to the Government of India a request for approval and sanction for the establishment of a University of the Panjab according to the plan submitted in his letter.

Despite the zeal which had been shown for the achievement of a University, the contributions had not been very great, amounting at the date of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter of 27th May, 1868, to less than one lakh. Of the amount collected, namely, Rs. 98,794, the Maharaja of Kashmir had donated Rs. 62,500; the Raja of Kapurthala, Rs. 10,000; other ruling Chiefs, Rs. 7,900; European officials Rs. 6,400; only about Rs. 12,000 being derived from ordinary public donation. Moreover, Rs. 12,589 had already been dissipated, and of the remainder only Rs. 7,337 represented the contributions of those who had wished to establish an Oriental University.

It is impossible in this brief account to record the voluminous correspondence and discussion in which the project at this stage was involved. The reader will be enabled to examine it in the "Jubilee

History of the University," which is about to be published. A short outline must suffice. The Government of India was requested to approve a separate University of the Panjab and to sanction an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000. The special objects of the University were to be, "to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Oriental languages and literatures, the improvement and extension of the vernacular literature of the Panjab and its Dependencies, and the diffusion of western knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars." Instruction and examination were to be conveyed *as far as possible* in the vernacular. Proficiency in a classical Oriental language, combined with a thorough knowledge of English, should be necessary in order to attain the highest honours of the University, but provision was to be made for honouring proficiency in literature and science in the case of those unacquainted with English, and in English in the case of those unacquainted with a classical Oriental language.

The proposal was referred by the Viceroy to his Council, which included Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Maine and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Strachey. They did not approve the larger scheme and suggested that support should rather be given to the extension and improvement of the teaching in Government College, Lahore. In that sense the Governor-General replied to Sir Donald McLeod on 19th September, 1868.

The Lieutenant-Governor agreed that the proposal was defective and impracticable in certain respects, but on 12th November, 1868, he expressed to the Government of India his deep regret that the refusal would completely discourage those who were zealous to secure a system of higher education in the Panjab. In consequence of his strong advocacy the Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the institution in a modified form, and this sanction was confirmed by the Secretary of State.

The new institution was to be called a University College, to indicate that its status was merely temporary and that, if it justified the promotion, it might in future be established as a University. It was empowered to grant certificates of proficiency, but not degrees. Certain conditions were definitely imposed by the Government of

India, particularly (i) "that the study of English shall form one of the most prominent features of the teaching" and that "teaching and examination in subjects which cannot with advantage be carried on in the vernacular shall be conducted in English"; (ii) that in all teaching in the vernacular effective measures shall be provided to secure that modern educational methods and standards shall be prescribed and preserved.

The Anjuman, through Mr. Lepel Griffin, who, in Dr. Leitner's absence, was acting as president, expressed to the Lieutenant-Governor its keen disappointment at the decision of the Government of India, and pleaded that at least the name of a University and the power to confer Oriental degrees and titles of honour be conceded. Sir D. McLeod replied that it would be unwise to press the Government of India further at this stage, and that he had accordingly accepted that part of the scheme which they approved. He hoped that the successful conduct of that measure would soon justify the sanction of the complete scheme. On 5th August, 1869, the new Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, repeated the promise that "hereafter, if attended with due success, the College would be expanded into a University."

Accordingly, the Panjab University College was established by Notification No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869.

Before the establishment of Panjab University College the Anjuman had attempted to form an Oriental College. It opened schools in 1865, and in May, 1866, it experimentally set up a college and madrasa of the proposed University. It was discovered in 1867 that the cost of these institutions was being met from the general fund which was being collected for the foundation of a University. They were closed by 1st June, 1868, but in the interval considerably more had been expended upon them from the general fund than had been collected from supporters of the original scheme of an Oriental University.

As soon as the University College was founded the Executive Committee of its Senate took measures for the provision of an Oriental Department, which should provide instruction in the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian languages and literatures, together with a modern training in the elements of general knowledge through the vernacular. In

December, 1870, a budget allotment was made for an Oriental School, which from March, 1872, was called Oriental College.

In 1870 the Lahore Medical School became affiliated to the new University College, which in the same year also opened English and vernacular classes in Law for the training of Mukhtars and Pleaders. In 1874 the examinations in Law were handed over to the University College to conduct under rules laid down by the Chief Court. The new institution had a name and a variety of functions—examining, teaching, encouraging the advancement of classical learning and vernacular literature by means of the grant of scholarships, fellowships and prizes—but for some years it had no local habitation. Its administrative affairs were conducted in a room of Government College, of which the Principal, Dr. Leitner, was its Registrar. The Oriental College was also housed in Government College, the Law School in a hired house. The remainder of the teaching connected with the University College was conducted by the Government Colleges at Lahore and Delhi.

In the year 1871-72 the University College granted scholarships, tenable at the two Government Colleges, to the total value of Rs. 8,400. This created a vexatious problem, which was not overcome until the University College obtained the full privileges of a University at the end of 1882; for these scholarships were awarded on the results of examinations which it conducted. The Government Colleges were required to prepare their students for the examinations of the University of Calcutta, and Government scholarships were awarded on the results attained by candidates who appeared in the Calcutta University Entrance Examination. Since the great majority of students in those early days of higher education depended upon the grant of a stipend to enable them to pursue University studies, the two Government Colleges were compelled to prepare them for both series of examinations. The curriculum, the standard, even the date, of each of these series of examinations varied, and confusion prevailed in the two Government Colleges until in 1879 Government decided to award its scholarships on the results of the Panjab University College Entrance Examination. Even then Government College—for in November, 1876, the Delhi College was closed and its students were brought

to Lahore—had still to prepare students for the higher examinations of Calcutta University, which alone could confer the coveted degree, until at last, in October, 1882, the Panjab institution was raised to the status of a University and empowered to confer degrees.

Until too late Calcutta University had refused to modify its rules to meet the needs of Panjab students. Panjab University College did what it could to abate the nuisance of double examinations. It approximated its time-table, standard and curriculum of examinations as far as possible to those of Calcutta, but it could not deny its own *raison d'être*, which was a protest against the general unsuitability of the Calcutta system for Panjab students, without seeking its own abolition; and that was now unthinkable.

Fairly steady progress was made by the University College throughout its existence. Only one branch of direct teaching was added to its functions after 1870, when, in 1873-74 classes in Civil Engineering were opened in the Oriental College. They appear not to have been very popular, for in eight years only 33 students appeared in the First Examination, of whom 15 were successful; while only one appeared in the Final Examination, which he passed.

Dr. Leitner reported in glowing terms the progress of Oriental College, though, if one may judge by its condition during the first five years of the University, he apparently saw it through rose-coloured spectacles. During the last six years of the existence of the University College a spate of volumes appeared from its press, for it possessed a printery of its own in these years. These volumes consisted mostly of vernacular translations of English text-books, and of compilations and grammar books for the use of students. Few of them could be dignified as contributions to "the improvement and extension of vernacular literature," which was one of the avowed purposes of the College.

The number of candidates who appeared in the various examinations of the University College steadily increased. In its first Entrance Examination 88 candidates appeared, of whom 41 passed. In its last Entrance Examination 249 appeared, of whom 75 passed. In its first year 81 candidates appeared in all Oriental examinations,

of whom 32 were successful. In the last series 399 appeared and 182 passed. During the first ten years 303 students appeared in all examinations in Law, of whom 151 passed. In 1882, 170 appeared, of whom 83 passed. The number of candidates in Medicine, remained fairly constant during the twelve years. The progress of the competition with Calcutta may be illustrated by the figures of examinations in the three years, 1878-80. In those three series 365 Panjab candidates appeared in all Calcutta University examinations. In the corresponding series 910 candidates appeared in Panjab University College examinations.

Throughout the existence of the institution as a University College, its champions strove unremittingly for its elevation to the status of a University. Their attempt in 1873 was coldly rebuffed; but it was renewed in 1876, when the next Viceroy, Lord Lytton, visited Lahore. On that occasion he promised to support the measure, and accordingly at the great Darbar of 1877 the Senate of Panjab University College presented a memorial praying for this enhancement of status. After much correspondence and the preparation of two draft bills, at last the Panjab University Act was passed on 5th October, 1882, and Panjab University was formally called into existence nine days later by a Notification issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison. The first meeting of the Senate was held at Barnes Court, Simla, on 14th October, 1882, and almost its first action was to approve the Chancellor's resolution that the degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning be conferred upon Dr. Leitner.

The inaugural Convocation of Panjab University was held in the hall of Government College on 18th November, 1882. It was a gorgeous ceremony, attended by the Patron, Lord Ripon. Its colourful splendour, as recorded by a rapt observer, suggests the emergence of the butterfly from its chrysalis.

One aspect of the development of the University during its minority period should be specially noted. Its creation and maintenance had only been made possible by the splendid munificence of the ruling princes of the Panjab, particularly by the Maharajas of Patiala and Kashmir, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Rajas of Kapurthala, Nabha and Jhind and the Nawab of Maler-Kotla, who donated very much the largest part of its funds.

A double University had been created by the Act of Incorporation of 1882. An Oriental University had been combined with an English University—a constitution unique in India. The two sides were given equal recognition and empowered to grant parallel series of degrees, while the Oriental Faculty received special powers to recognise proficiency by conferring Oriental titles and marks of honour. Thus, as had been advocated from the outset of the movement, both English and the vernacular languages were officially recognised, English becoming the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects organised upon the European model.

Since its incorporation the University has passed through two main phases, firstly, between 1882 and 1904, and secondly, from 1905 until 1932-33. The first phase was terminated by the passing of the Indian Universities Act, by which its constitution and functions were considerably modified. The last phase has been marked not only by the attainment of its Jubilee, but also by the enquiry and report of a Committee appointed by Government to examine "its working, its constitution, rules and regulations, with a view to suggesting such changes as may appear necessary."

The University was constituted under the Act of 1882 to act as (i) an examining body; (ii) an advisory board of education for the Province; (iii) a learned and literary society; and (iv) a teaching corporation. Throughout its existence the first of these functions has remained the most prominent. The second was exercised progressively less as the organisation of the Government Department of Public Instruction was elaborated; but at first the University was frequently consulted by Government upon general educational problems. The third function languished until Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein became Principal of Oriental College in 1888. Fourthly, as a teaching corporation it maintained the Oriental College and the Law School. All other instruction was conveyed by Government and private colleges, some of which were aided from the funds of the University, chiefly by means of the grant of scholarships on the results of its examinations.

The University was empowered at first to confer degrees only in the Faculties of Arts and Oriental Studies, namely Bachelor and Master of Arts and Doctor of Literature; Bachelor, Master and Doctor

of Oriental Learning. The caution of the Government of India, in proceeding slowly and gradually to endow the University with full powers, was wise, for during the first five years of its "majority" its organisation was found to be inadequate to its enhanced status. A general and radical reform was found to be necessary and was completed by 1888, largely by the devotion of Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. Rattigan, at that time Vice-Chancellor.

The general and financial administration, which had been taken over by the University from the University College, was found to be rather lax and irresponsible and was carefully overhauled between 1884 and 1887. In the latter year the Syndicate was reconstituted and made the effective executive committee of the Senate. Faculties were organised under responsible heads and a Board of Studies was appointed in each. The whole clerical staff was replaced and the Oriental College and the Law School were reformed. It was decided to appoint a responsible Registrar and, for the sake of economy, to select a qualified Orientalist, who should also be made Principal of Oriental College.

In 1888 Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein was appointed Registrar of the University and Principal of Oriental College. This distinguished scholar retained the dual office until 1899, and after an interval he was succeeded in 1900 by Dr. A. W. Stratton, who, however, died in 1902. After another interval he was succeeded in April, 1903, by Mr. A. C. Woolner, now Vice-Chancellor. During the period, 1882-1904, the Oriental College was the chief object of expenditure by the University for purposes of direct instruction. At the same time the balance between the eastern and western sides of the University was being rapidly altered. In 1901, for example, there were 403 candidates in all Oriental examinations, and 3,779 in those of Arts and Science. (In the most recent phase of development the disproportion has become vastly greater.) On the other hand, certain members of the staff of Oriental College at that time, particularly Dr. Stein and Shaikh (now Sir) Muhammad Iqbal, made notable contributions to Oriental learning.

The Law School was similarly, though not so completely, reorganised. The course of instruction was extended from two to three

years. An English Barrister, Mr. P. Morton, was appointed part-time lecturer in 1887 and continued in that capacity till 1900, when Mr. Shadi Lal, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law (now Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice of the High Court of Lahore) officiated until, in 1901, Mr. G. Serrell, M.A., LL.D. (London), was appointed Principal and the School was reorganised as a College. Dr. Serrell unfortunately died in 1904. In 1891 the University was empowered to confer degrees in Law.

The Medical College has always been maintained by Government, the University merely providing the apparatus of examination. This College was also reorganised in 1886, when the University was empowered to confer degrees in Medicine. Its development since that time has been steady and continuous. In 1887 there were 48 candidates for all examinations in Medicine, of whom 12 presented themselves for titles in indigenous Medicine. In 1904 there were 596 students on the rolls of the College, which prepared them now only in the western system. Instruction in the Ayurvedic system was transferred to D. A.-V. College, in the Yunani system to Islamia College, Lahore.

All other instruction in this first period of the University was conveyed by colleges which were "recognised" by the University. In 1882 there were only three such, namely, Government College, Lahore; St. Stephen's College, Delhi, which was opened in that year by the Cambridge Mission; and Mohindra College, Patiala, which had prepared students to the Intermediate standard since 1880, and achieved the status of a degree College in 1887. The two former Colleges prepared students for all examinations up to the M.A.

At the time of the general reorganisation of the University in 1886 several more Colleges were opened to prepare students for its examinations, especially the American Presbyterian Mission College, which was reopened, after a lapse of twenty years, as Forman Christian College. In the same year the Arya Samaj opened a school which, as the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, formed College classes in 1888. The Church of Scotland Mission opened a high school at Sialkot in 1886, which three years later formed classes in preparation for the Intermediate Examination of the University. Sadiq-Egerton

College, Bahawalpur, had opened Intermediate classes in 1886 and advanced to graduate status six years later. In 1892 Islamia College, Lahore, was opened; in 1893 Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi; in 1896 Khalsa College, Amritsar; while in the same year, 1896, Randhir College, Kapurthala, formed Intermediate classes. In 1899 Hindu College, Delhi, formed classes for the Intermediate, and in 1900 for the B.A. Examinations; while the Church Mission High School, Peshawar, which had been opened in 1855, formed a University department—Edwardes College—in 1900. Thus, at the end of the first period of the University twelve Arts Colleges were engaged in preparing students for its examinations. Before the end of that period another professional College became affiliated to the University, which instituted a new degree to recognise the training which it provided.

In addition to the various Normal Schools which it had already established, Government founded a Central Training College in 1881. In 1887 it was removed to its present site, and in 1903 it was affiliated to the University to prepare graduate candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Teaching.

The progress of the University during this phase was also recognised in another way. In 1889 it was included by the University of Oxford in the list of Universities, the degrees of which Oxford recognised, and the graduates of which it admitted to certain important privileges. So Panjab University won its "hall mark." At the beginning of 1896 Cambridge extended to it the same recognition and privileges.

Having passed through a period which Sir Charles Aitchison described as a false start, the University had established itself. Owing to the prevailing views and conditions, it had begun chiefly as an administrative and examining machine and not, like European Universities, as a corporation of scholars and students, conscious of their united quest after sound learning. But even before the end of the first phase indications of this proper attitude became plain. As early as 1891 the University had shaken off the Calcutta incubus. In the year 1902-3 a system of joint teaching was attempted by Government College and Forman Christian College. In the following year, 1903-4, the University received grants from the Governments

of India and the Panjab for the erection of a suitable Hall and the provision of a sports ground. Since its incorporation in 1882 it had possessed a name but no local habitation except the old Senate Hall, which it owes to the munificence of the Nawab of Bahawalpur in 1874. Its students lurked in corners of Government College and in hired houses. It was now, however, on the eve of a second era, as we hope in this year of Jubilee, that it is upon the eve of a third and far more generous era of true achievement. Its greatest defect was that it was a more or less fortuitous concatenation of atoms of higher education. It still needs to become an organism.

The second stage of the life of the University, which was ushered in by the Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, has been a stage of formless achievement. Many good things have been attained, but they do not make a coherent pattern. We hope that that will be essential contribution of the third stage.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was concerned chiefly with administration. It improved the composition of the Senate and of the Faculties, but it changed the mechanism more than the spirit of the University. It brought colleges apparently more under the control of the University by prescribing rules for their affiliation, though it did not sufficiently consider the needs and functions of the controlling body. It gave Government an opportunity to exercise an almost overwhelming authority in those controlling bodies, particularly the Senate. But its effect was not so great as might have been expected, because it was too largely mechanical, and this University has spent a good deal of energy in picking its way through the Act. But the Act enabled one very valuable measure, which, when systematically developed, will do endless good by transforming this University from a mere affiliating body into a genuine teaching corporation. The Act did another very good thing when it enabled the University to build, and all the building which ensued during this last period has been valuable because it has created and developed its corporate consciousness. It is impossible to regard a body which merely regulates, examines, affiliates and gives degrees, as an *Alma Mater*. Early in this stage the University Hall and Library were erected and the Tournament Ground was provided. These

form the nucleus, around which, when a Union building is added, a true University will surely grow.

The new access of constructive development—which was not mere expansion, like the growing tally of Colleges and candidates for examination—received a fresh stimulus from the Congress of Universities of the Empire in 1912. It induced attention to University teaching. The first consequence was the invitation of a succession of distinguished teachers from other Universities to visit Lahore, review the existing teaching of their subjects, advise teachers, colleges and students, and suggest plans of development. They included Dr. Smithells, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Dr. Compton, Dr. Elton and Dr. Newton, between 1913 and 1929, and comprehended History, Chemistry, Physics, Economics, Mathematics, Arabic and English. If their direct influence seemed transitory, they have all left effective results in the University.

Another product of the new zeal was the erection and equipment of modern laboratories, which were placed under the direction of highly competent scientists. Government led the way here by extending the opportunities of the late Col. Stephenson, F.R.S., of Government College, who developed the departments of Zoology and Botany, which were placed at the service of the University. Honours schools in these subjects were established. The University developed the system by adding, with Government assistance, an admirable department of Chemistry. In all these higher teaching and research have been ably promoted.

Oriental College was similarly developed. Research professorships of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were established. Honours schools in these subjects were initiated and the Panjab University Oriental Publication Series was begun, while modern critical methods were applied in the new M.A. courses in Oriental studies.

These advances were paralleled in the rapid expansion of the University Library, the establishment therein of a school for the training of librarians, and the acquisition of an important collection of manuscripts. The growth of the Library within this period has been one of the most admirable features of the development of the University as a centre of learning.

The progress of the University was affected somewhat at this point by the publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, which had two notable results in the Panjab. On the one hand it resulted in the establishment by Government of a number of new institutions, called Intermediate Colleges, which were affiliated to the University. In the form which they assumed they have scarcely assisted in the proper development of the University, for they are suspended somewhat uncertainly between the schools and the University, without gaining the advantage of a strong association with either. Their value is monitory, for they have drawn attention to the necessity of considering the preparatory foundation of University education. The other notable fruit of the Report is the Academic Council of the University, which was created in 1923 and will, when its composition and function have been more thoroughly adjusted, prove one more valuable instrument for the improvement of the University as a corporation for the advancement of learning.

The decade from 1921 to 1930, that is, the period preceding the last three lean years of financial depression and retrenchment, has been marked by great and obvious growth. Not only has the admirable University School of Chemistry come into existence, as well as the subsidised School of Technical Chemistry at Forman Christian College, but also a crop of new and necessary University buildings has rapidly appeared. The Law College and Oriental College have been well housed, though the former has become utterly inadequate for the crowd of students who have thronged to it. Excellent hostels have been erected to accommodate students of the Colleges directly conducted by the University. Largely by the munificence of the late Sir Ganga Ram and the assistance of Government, a new professional institution, Hailey College of Commerce, has been established and well housed and equipped. Government also instituted modern Colleges, namely the Agricultural College, Lyallpur, and the MacLagan Engineering College, Moghalpura, for technical training and research, and these have been affiliated to the University, which has also established a department of Astronomy, with an observatory, under the control of a Reader. On another side, it has encouraged the systematic study of the ver-

nacular languages of the Province and has undertaken the compilation of a Panjabi Dictionary.

The tale of rapid growth must record a very important step, that is, the inauguration of University teaching departments and the establishment of Professorships of Mathematics, Economics, Chemistry and History. The tale of these, we hope, has only begun, for their increase and organisation are a definite harbinger of a new era in the life and value of the University. The immediate need of Professorships and properly organised departments of English, Physics and Politics, is quite apparent. The further extension of the policy which is plainly implied in their creation promises to provide the great achievement of the next generation. The problem of their proper relation to the governing councils of the University and to the affiliated colleges is crucial, and its wise solution will place the University in a far stronger and more useful relation to the life of the Province, which it must aim to serve as the great Universities of Britain serve that country.

Another important aspect of the recent development of the University has been the attempt to perfect a system of inter-collegiate instruction in post-graduate studies, in collaboration, where they exist, with the University departments, and the beginning, on the Arts side of the University, of a system of Honours Schools, corresponding to those of Science. The attempt at a Combined Honours School of English, Philosophy, Economics and History, admirable in conception, proved premature. A separate Honours School of History has been established, and it is hoped that it will be the fore-runner of others, which can enter into balanced combination. The omens indicate an immediate development in the next phase, of those departments of social studies, which have been the great strength of the ancient Universities of England and the chief source of their civic and national influence.

The recent inception of a department of Physical Training in the University, which is one of its original advances among the Universities of India, is a further indication of the growth of its organic consciousness and its sense of civic obligation. It may be impossible to make a cult of physical fitness an object of academic

study; but it is certain that the proper direction of the physical well-being of students is as vital as that of their social and intellectual training. This measure, with the foundation of a Union building which will mark the Jubilee, reveals the growing sense that the University must forget its artificial origin as a board of inquisitors, seeking candidates whom it might devour, and become an organic intellectual society, which will create social, political and intellectual leaders, while at the same time it contributes to the advancement of sound learning.

It has many problems to solve, amongst which the most pressing is the relation in which the nucleus at Lahore is to be adjusted to the affiliated institutions, not merely of Lahore, but also of the vast province of the Panjab and adjacent States, which must receive their inspiration from Lahore. Certain it is, however, that that relation can never become really satisfactory until this nucleus becomes a highly organic society, which, having acquired a rich intellectual and social life of its own, shall throw out living tentacles to embrace in that life the less richly organised institutions of the mufassal. The vastness of its responsibility is indicated by the examination statistics of the year 1932, when the following numbers of candidates presented themselves :

Entrance (Matriculation)	..	20,333
Intermediate	..	6,175
B.A. and B.Sc.	..	2,781
M.A. and M.Sc.	..	343

There are now fifty-three colleges affiliated to the University in an area on a radius of about 400 miles from Lahore.

This problem leads to a melancholy reflection. The total general endowment fund of the University scarcely exceeds five lakhs. The generosity of benefactors in its early days—among whom the ruling Princes occupy a place of conspicuous honour—is now an ancient tale, emulated in recent years only by the late Sir Ganga Ram. Government has not been entirely ungenerous, though, since the incorporation of the University, it has never regarded its maintenance and development as a matter of great public importance. Indeed, it has complicated the task of the University by often merely extending

the scope of its responsibility, by increasing the tally of institutions under its ægis, rather than by increasing its intellectual and social strength. But no worthy University has ever been entirely, or even largely, created and maintained by a Government. All peoples have got the Universities which they deserve. That is surely the lesson of Oxford and Cambridge, which have been heavily endowed by the pious generosity of countless private patrons.

The University of the Panjab must deserve this patronage—and receive it, if its Centenary is to fulfil the promise of its Jubilee. And that promise, in the essentials, is not small; nor is the achievement, especially of the past quarter of a century; for it has more to be proud of than those ignorant of its achievements and past difficulties are aware.

For further information concerning the history of Panjab University the reader may be referred to the following:

The address by Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency at a Special Convocation of the University, on 12th January, 1933, when the University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*. (P. U. Calendar, 1933-34, pp. 557-564).

The Report of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee, 1933.

A Jubilee History of the University of the Panjab (in the press).

SOME HISTORICAL GLEANINGS FROM OLD MISSION RECORDS.

By ROSS WILSON.

(*Paper read on 24th April, 1933.*)

Some of my hearers will have seen a recent book entitled "A Cultural History of Modern Europe" by a German writer, Egon Friedell. This book is not only one of the most *recent* but one of the most *brilliant* expositions of a new, or if not new a neglected, type of historical writing which goes by the name of Cultural History. What Friedell has so brilliantly done for the Europe of the last four centuries, and Coulton of Cambridge for the Europe of the Middle Ages, remains to be done for India ; but the task will demand such wealth of knowledge, keenness of discernment and warmth of sympathy and imagination that it may be a long time ere one is found who will have the temerity to undertake it. Meantime there is scope and need for a host of prospectors in this field—the field, that is, of the social and cultural history of India.

This paper is intended to be a small venture in this direction. It will attempt to follow a very limited portion of the course of one particular stream of cultural influence—a stream which is only one of the many, to be sure, which have watered the great continent of Indian culture, but one whose influence few will be disposed to question. I refer to the stream of influence which is known as Christian Missions. This is not, however, an ambitious attempt to narrate the history of Christian Missions in India, but rather to set forth the beginnings of that movement in the Panjab, and to relate it to the early history of the province.

In an obscure corner of the Forman College Library is a book-case filled with a mass of books and papers, printed and in manuscript, which comprise the all too meagre archives of the Panjab Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, which was the first Protestant

Christian Mission to enter the Panjab proper. It is a portion of these records that has afforded the material for the greater part of this paper. There are, for instance, an old worm-eaten ledger in which Mr. Lowrie, the first missionary stationed in Ludhiana kept his accounts; a somewhat damaged volume containing a manuscript copy of the first annual reports of the "Lodiana Mission"; a type-script copy of the memoirs of the Rev. C. B. Newton, son of the Rev. John Newton who, in company with Dr. Charles W. Forman, took up his residence in Lahore immediately after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849; and a couple of rare volumes of printed reports and memoirs.

It may be as well to pause for a moment to take our bearings. These records are of course only minor manifestations of a movement which reaches back through nineteen centuries of history—a movement which found a tragic and mistaken, though powerful, manifestation in the Crusades of the 12th and 13th Centuries; a movement which had all but spent itself in the religious strife of the 16th and 17th Centuries; but which was to experience a powerful renaissance in the late 18th Century. The conscience of England had been stirred and her religious life quickened by the evangelical revival of the latter part of the 18th Century generally known as the Wesleyan movement. If this revival in some sense supplied the motive for the reforming activity of a Wilberforce in his crusade against slavery and for the liberal spirit of a Canning and a Grey in England, or an Elphinstone and a Bentinck out here in India, it found even clearer expression in the veritable swarming of Missionary Societies and Associations. In Great Britain alone as many as fourteen, and in the United States ten, such societies made their appearance between the year of John Wesley's death in 1791, and 1833, the year with which this sketch really begins.

Suppose we for a moment turn the time-machine backward, till we find ourselves back in the year 1831, and in the thriving young industrial city of Pittsburgh which memorialises the name of England's first and greatest imperialist, the elder Pitt.

It was on Monday, the 24th of October, 1831, that the Synod of Pittsburgh met in that city to organize the "Western Foreign Mis-

sionary Society." Not many months later three young men, well equipped in the secular and theological education of the day, volunteered for foreign service under the direction of that Society. The first to leave his home-land was the Rev. John B. Pinney, who sailed for Liberia in January, 1833. Returning to the United States in July he set out again, in October of the same year, with three companions. This quartette of missionaries claim our interest at the moment because of their subsequent tragic history. After six months in Liberia, and within a fortnight, three of the four fell victims to an epidemic, and Pinney was left to carry on his work alone.

On the 30th of May, following the first departure of Pinney, the remaining two of this trio of volunteers, the Rev. John C. Lowrie and the Rev. William Reed with their wives went aboard the ship "Star" which lay at anchor in the Delaware River not far from Philadelphia ready to hoist her sails for the voyage to Calcutta. Sailing across to Madeira, and thence by way of the Cape, the good ship "Star" bore these four young adventurers uneventfully on their way toward India—uneventfully, that is, except for a terrific three days' gale which threatened to engulf the ship. At last on the 11th of October the pilot ship, anchored off the Sand Heads of the Hoogly, was sighted. Three days later, after passing the stately European mansions of Garden Reach and "the East India Company's Botanical Garden and Bishop's College on the opposite side of the river"—to quote Mr. Lowrie's brief account—"we swept under the walls of Fort William and were in full view of Government House." The long voyage was safely over—but the same fatality that wrought havoc upon the group who had gone to Africa seemed to follow this group to India. Five weeks after their arrival Mrs. Lowrie, who had left Philadelphia in poor health, passed away, a victim of tuberculosis; and during the month of August following, Mr. Reed who with his wife had re-embarked for the United States, succumbed to the same disease. It was a lonely and saddened man, therefore, who on the 25th of July, 1834, set out for Ludhiana, the farthest outpost of British influence in India, which he and his companions had chosen as their first field of endeavour—a journey scarcely less perilous and extended than the voyage from Philadelphia had been.

But why should Ludhiana have been chosen for this venture? More than 20 years before this, American missionaries had settled in Western India and formed the Marathi Mission; another group had begun work in Burma at about the same time; a third group had been labouring in Ceylon since 1822; and a fourth group was even then beginning its work in Madura. No one of these groups was adequate in personnel to the work undertaken. Why should not Lowrie throw in his lot with one of these? Several groups of British missionaries, too, had been more than cordial in their welcome and quick to offer fields near their own. But appreciative as he was of the welcome and help that he had received, he turned eagerly toward the frontier. It is instructive to note his own *apologia* for the choice he had made. He writes, "After carefully weighing the information we had received, Mr. Reed and myself were clear in our conviction that the north-west provinces presented the best field of labour for the commencement of our efforts. They contain," he continues, "a numerous and hardy population, with a better climate than the lower provinces, and there is ready access to the lower ranges of the Himalaya mountains in case of the failure of health. They were then, and they continue to be, in a great measure, unoccupied by the Missionary institutions of other bodies of Christians. And their position connects them with other countries in which no efforts have yet been made to introduce the Christian religion." He goes on to speak of the Sikhs; but it is apparent that he has, in longer view, the opportunity for work among the Afghans and "Cashmerians," as he calls them, as well. Perhaps the final and determining consideration was this, that "there was just at that time a movement to promote the spread of English language and learning in some of the important cities in the Upper Provinces. English Colleges had been established by the Government at Agra and at Delhi and instruction of a similar kind was wanted at some other places one of which was Lodiāna."

His goal thus chosen, Lowrie set out upon the slow and tedious journey to Ludhiana twelve hundred miles inland. There were apparently three commonly accepted methods of travel; he might go by palanquin all the way, changing bearers at stages ten miles apart and accomplishing as much as a hundred miles a day; or he might travel

much more leisurely and comfortably with tents ; making from ten to fifteen miles a day. Lowrie chose a third method, that is, up the Ganges to Cawnpore by boat, and thence five hundred miles overland in a palanquin, his outfit being loaded upon heavy carts, each drawn by three bullocks, which went by the quaint old name of "hackeries." One of the early entries in Lowrie's ledger has a bearing upon this journey. It runs as follows :

" July 26th to December 15th [1834] :

To Cash Paid. Expenses of J. C. Lowrie, his baggage, Mission Property, Insurance, etc.,—from Calcutta to Lodiana—*via* Budgerow, etc., to Cawnpore 399-8 ; thence to Lodiana, Dak 239-12 ; Hackeries 188-8—827-12."

A curious feature of this entry is the dates at the beginning—for according to Lowrie's Journal as contained in his little book "Two Years in Upper India...." he started on the 25th of July and reached Ludhiana on the 5th of November. The discrepancy of one day at the start may be due to an incident recorded in his Journal. It appears that he had, somewhat naively, expected to start *early* on the morning of the 25th July. Much to his chagrin it required several hours of argument to get the boatmen started, and when eventually they did start, they were unable to make headway against adverse winds, so that the second day's start was made from a point near the original starting-point. The discrepancy in the date of arrival in Ludhiana is less easily accounted for, but it is probably due to the fact that the hackeries laden with his luggage did not reach their destination till some weeks after his own arrival in a palanquin.

Lowrie's Journal covering the period of this journey is replete with interesting observation and comment. At Serampore he met the venerable Dr. Marshman, missionary, linguist, and builder of Serampore College, whose son John Clark Marshman gave us what is still one of the most readable accounts of the British period of Indian History. Passing through Chandernagar, the French settlement above Calcutta, he observed that the tri-colour was flying and the guns being fired every half-hour "in commemoration," he supposed, "of the three days' revolution in 1830," which gave to France her Citizen King, Louis Phillipe. At

Katwa he met the son of Dr. William Carey, the cobbler who became the greatest missionary, statesman and linguist of his time. He passes through Jangipur "the greatest silk station of the East India Company" where, according to Hamilton whom he quotes, "in 1803 about three hundred thousand persons were employed." He finds Benares absorbingly interesting if somewhat shocking to his sensibilities. He mentions the Hindu College with its eight or ten professors, its two hundred students, and its European Superintendent, "in which are taught the various branches of Hindu learning, not excepting astrology, nor the astronomy of Ptolemy, nor the geography which teaches that the earth is supported by the tortoise 'chawkwa,' and that Mount Meru standing in the centre of the vast plain which forms the earth's surface supports the seven seas." He is inspired by the majesty of Agra and Delhi which he says "are the richest in memorials of former greatness that I have ever seen." And so, at length, he reaches his immediate goal, the frontier station Ludhiana, which he describes in the following words:

"Lodiana is the most remote of the English stations in India on the North West. It is situated on a small nalla or creek about five miles from the River Sutlej, which forms the eastern boundary of the Panjab, and divides the territories under the British influence from those of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs on the other side of the river. The present population of Lodiana is estimated at from twenty-thousand to twenty-five thousand; and is on the increase. When the navigation of the Indus is freed from the present restraints, which will most probably be within another year, the town may be expected to increase considerably; as it will then become one of the marts of trade with countries down the Indus. It is now a place of considerable business intercourse with the countries westward. Few towns have so varied a population in people and language. There are two regiments of infantry, and one troop of horse-artillery here, commanded of course, by English officers; so that nearly a hundred persons use the English language. There are probably two thousand five hundred people from Cashmere, who have found refuge here from the famine and oppression which have almost desolated their beautiful native valley. There are about one thousand Afghans, who speak Persian chiefly. The higher classes, of whatever nation, in this part

of India pride themselves on speaking Persian. The Sikhs who both on this side of the Sutlej and on the other, form about one-tenth of the population, speak and write (when they can write at all, which is seldom the case) the Gurmukhi or Panjabi dialect."

It was fortunate indeed for John Lowrie and the enterprise he had so much at heart that he found such a man as Claude Martin Wade in charge of the Ludhiana Agency. From the very beginning Lowrie was accorded a cordial and friendly reception; and that cordiality soon deepened into friendship. To be sure there were services which Lowrie could render Wade. Wade was interested in education—and here was one who could be of great service if he would. He also needed a printing-press—here again Lowrie might prove useful if so inclined. But it is clear that the relation of these two men one toward the other was founded upon something more secure than mere utility. Lowrie's attitude is evident from his words: "I esteemed myself highly fortunate in having to consult with a gentleman of such enlarged and correct views, and of such general zeal for the good of the natives, as were evinced by the Political Agent at Lodiana"; and Wade's attitude is no less clearly manifest from the steady, whole-hearted support which he accorded both Lowrie and his successors.

Lowrie was now forced by the necessity of finding a method, or methods, for carrying out his commission. The most obvious method, that of preaching or of conversation with the people on religious subjects, was as yet closed to him until he could make himself understood in their language. What alternative method was open to him? It was at this juncture that Captain Wade broached the suggestion which he had apparently had in mind even before Lowrie's arrival. But I shall let Lowrie tell his own story:

"The English school," he writes some years later, "had been set on foot by Captain Wade, now Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, the Political Agent, a few months before I reached Lodiana, and had been placed under one of his native clerks with the design of transferring it to my care when I should arrive. Some fourteen or sixteen native boys had been in attendance." "With many other men," he adds, "it might have been impracticable for me to have had any connection with the English School at that place, as I could not consent to take the

responsible charge of an institution from which our holy religion was to be utterly excluded. After mature reflection the school was placed fully under my control, and its studies were directed by a settled plan. No profession of our object was ostentatiously made, but on the other hand no concealment of our views was attempted, nor was there any withholding of religious instruction. No alarm was awakened among either Hindus, Mussalmans, or Sikhs ; and the school after a fair trial was considered a successful effort." "After a few weeks the number [of boys] was increased [from fourteen or fifteen] to about fifty, of whom some were the sons of two or three native chiefs, and other respectable native gentlemen ; some of them were Hindus, others Afghans, and others Cashmerians, and a few Sikhs ; speaking amongst them, the Hindui (sic), Hindustani, Gurmukhi, Pashto, Persian and Cashmerian languages." An old report represents them, "as having their residence in a district reaching from Patna to Cashmere and Cabul and as ranking from the mechanic and trafficker in the bazaar, to the first-born of the rajah who sits high among princes." Lowrie adds elsewhere that, "By giving two or three hours a day to the superintendence of the school, and with the valuable aid of an Indo-British teacher, the progress of the scholars was very creditable to themselves, and gratifying to their generous patron, Captain Wade, and other European visitors. Several of these youths evinced no ordinary degree of capacity and most of them were of clever abilities."

It was a formidable fare that was set before these youths, however clever they may have been ; for it included "English Readers, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Universal History, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Evidences of Christianity, Geometry, History of England, Chemistry, Political Economy, Surveying, History of India, Physical Geography, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Algebra, and the Bible, together with written translations and compositions." The writer of the report from which this formidable list is taken adds somewhat plaintively : "This is the prescribed course, but no class has yet been induced to remain long enough to complete it," for the simple reason that "when a tolerable acquaintance with English is attained and the hand of a ready scribe formed, they leave the school to look for employment."

This then was the first school in the Panjab which offered both English and a Western course of study. And it is this school which, passing through the vicissitudes of the century, survives to-day as the Ewing High School. An equally fitting name for it would be the Claude Martin Wade High School for it was Wade who established the school, and continued his patronage of it until he was transferred to another field of activity.

A second method of work had already suggested itself to Lowrie's mind: the establishment of a vernacular and English Press for the publication of religious and educational literature. The idea had no doubt come to him during his sojourn in Calcutta where he came into close contact with one Mr. W. H. Pearce, who was managing the Baptist Mission Press at that time, "the most extensive printing establishment in India." It is not unlikely that Captain Wade reinforced that suggestion for he was anxious to find someone to publish the "Lodiana Akhbar" which, it appears, he established about the time he opened the English School. According to the Second Annual Report of the Lodiana Mission, the Lodiana Akhbar was a Persian newspaper issued in manuscript, and established for the express purpose of creating a fund which might defray the expenses of the school. Wade must have been a financial wizard as well as a wise and able administrator: for there is evidence in these old Reports that the "Lodiana Akhbar" *did* for several years contribute a tidy sum toward the expense of the school. How this could be without the boon, or bane, of advertising, I leave you to ponder.

Suffice it to say that before the end of the second year a Press had been secured and set up; and at Captain Wade's request the printing of the Akhbar was undertaken and carried on from 1835 to 1841, at least. It was at first edited and published by one Mr. Hodges, who was attached to the Agency as Surveyor, assisted with the teaching in the school, and, for a time at least, acted as Post-Master for the Station. In one of the volumes of manuscript letters in the Panjab Records Office is a letter from the Rev. John Newton, declaring himself to be the Proprietor and Publisher of this same "Lodiana Akhbar." It is curious that in spite of efforts made by one of my colleagues and myself to secure copies of this first

newspaper published in the Panjab, not a single copy of it has come to light.

Another curious thing in this connection is the mention here and there, in the Press List of the Panjab Government Records, of an "Agra Akhbar," a "Delhi Gazette," and a "Lahore Akhbar." On one occasion in a letter dated the 5th September, 1834, Captain Wade asks the Agent to the Governor-General to treat the Lahore Akhbars, which are sent to him periodically, as confidential, instead of publishing them verbatim, as he had been doing. Here too one's curiosity is whetted only to be left unsatisfied—for not a copy of any of these Akhbars has come to hand. What were they? were some of them intended to be confidential reports and were others mere news-sheets? and were the confidential ones published in English and the news-sheets in Persian? and what is meant by 'Persian'? is it genuine Persian or is it Persian Urdu?

I have been at some pains to indicate the cordial co-operation which Lowrie received at Captain Wade's hands. I might add that during the seven years of its existence, Captain Wade contributed something over two thousand rupees toward the support of the various activities of the Mission. A support no less cordial and generous was accorded by many others of his fellow-countrymen. Among some of the most interesting features of these documents under review are the pages devoted to the acknowledgment of donations from various sources. There are to be found scores of names from Lord Auckland, the Marchioness of Dalhousie and Maharajah Ranjit Singh, down to Sergeant Ray and Gunner Easton—the Lawrences, the Cunninghams, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Hon'ble J. Thompson, Edward Thornton, J. C. Marshman, and many another destined to win fame upon the Indian scene. But perhaps more interesting even than these are the three or four that follow. In the list for 1841 appears the name of Madame Ventura, and a few years later that of her husband, Ranjit Singh's illustrious general. Their gifts were not large, but hers at least illustrates the irony of fate; for she was to spend the last ten or twelve years of her life in great poverty, in Ludhiana.¹ Another item, dated August 27, 1838, though not in the list of donations reads "By cash

¹ *Vide* Garrett and Gray: "Early Adventurers in the Panjab," p. 105.

borrowed in the name of the Society's Treasurer of J. Harlan, 800." A minute elsewhere explains that an American gentleman passing through Ludhiana has offered to lend a sum of money sufficient to tide over the deficiency of funds caused by a delayed remittance from the United States. This is clearly no other than the adventurer, Josiah Harlan, an American no doubt, but an egregious braggart, and one who was scarcely entitled to the epithet 'gentleman.'¹ I am unable by the way to find any record of that loan having been repaid, though to be sure, the records are incomplete. Harlan seems to have disappeared from the scene entirely after 1839; it is possible that he died about that time leaving no heirs to collect the loan.

But most interesting of all are the following two items appearing in the lists of 1835 and 1838 respectively:

"Presents made by the Maharajah Ranjit Singh to the Rev. J. C. Lowrie, 2,183-10-5," and "From the sale of a horse presented to Mr. Lowrie by Ranjit Singh, 80."

And thereby hangs a tale, and with this tale my paper must come to a conclusion. From the first days of his stay in Ludhiana, Lowrie had conceived a strong desire to visit Lahore, and, if possible, to see the great king himself. But the authorities at Ludhiana, though entirely friendly were reluctant to authorize such a venture lest it give umbrage to Ranjit Singh whose suspicions of his neighbours to the east of the Sutlej were rarely quiescent in spite of the show of friendship on both sides. But again let Lowrie tell his own story. "The reader will judge then of my surprise and gratification at receiving from the Maharaja an invitation to pay him a visit at Lahore. He had heard of me and of our English school through his Wakil at Ludhiana; and with his invitation he made a proposal that I should spend six months of the year at his capital, to take charge of the education of a number of the young Sikh noblemen, the sons of chiefs. I should have been delighted to have accepted this proposal, if the state of my health would at all have justified my living on the plains; it presented a fine prospect of obtaining a standing and influence, which would have been invaluable to a missionary." But

¹ Op. cit. p. 281 ff.

meanwhile Lowrie had come under the watchful eye of his physician who had given a tentative opinion that he must return to his own land within the year or snuff out like two of the companions who had accompanied him on the voyage out. "I was constrained therefore," he writes, "to decline the proposal, and as the invitation was connected with it, I much feared that my declining the one would prevent the renewal of the other, though in acknowledging the honour of the invitation I expressed myself as being anxious to be permitted to come and pay my duty to 'the great king.' The invitation was repeated and the visit to Lahore was shortly afterwards made."

And then followed six weeks of most absorbing interest to Lowrie. Setting out from Ludhiana toward the end of January, 1835, with two elephants and a train of sixty men supplied by Ranjit Singh himself, he made his way in nine stages to Lahore. He found Amritsar extraordinarily interesting, being, as he put it, at once the Sikh Athens and Jerusalem. Approaching Lahore he is struck by the extent (which incidentally he exaggerates) and beauty of Shalabagh. He observes the numerous "mosques, temples, palaces and tombs—seen in every direction and in every stage of dilapidation" and he is favourably impressed with the general appearance of the city itself. He is finally conducted to "an extensive garden of orange trees, in which a French officer had erected a large summer residence about a quarter of a mile from the city wall. Comfortably installed in this palace he awaits the pleasure of the king.

He had not long to wait, for in the afternoon of the day of his arrival, Nur-ud-Din the second of the famous trio, the Faqir Brothers, arrived. He bore a present for the king's guest and assured him of the excellent understanding subsisting between the British and the Sikh kingdom. After a brief and somewhat desultory conversation in which he touched very lightly upon certain religious topics, with the skill of a veteran diplomat he introduced the subject of an English school, which was at the heart of the purpose which had led his master to extend the invitation. He inquired, to quote Lowrie's narrative, how I, who understood so little of the native language,

could teach the English to natives ; how I should act, if different pupils wished to learn different branches—who should decide ? The answer seemed to give much satisfaction, and suggested another question, which I think was the chief object of the long interview, though he presented it as if it were a matter of no importance. If a Government should establish a school, who should decide on the branches to be taught ? ” I answered, “The Government, certainly.” This was “very good,” he thought. I took care to add, however, that if a Government should establish a school it would still be optional with persons proposing to take charge of its instruction, to do so or not as they might approve or disapprove of its plan, to which he assented. The whole conversation was as abstract as if we had been sitting somewhere in the region of the north star ; but its bearings on the points of interest here on the earth, and at Lahore, is sufficiently obvious.

“ Faqir Nur-ud-Din is very much of a courtier ; perhaps I should say of an eastern statesman, in his manners—grave, cautious, cool ; yet abounding in compliments, and apparently very self-complacent. He had a fine large forehead, good eyes, and greyish beard ; he is about fifty years of age, and dresses plainly.”

On the next day came Aziz-ud-Din, eldest of the three Faqirs, and closest to the King in counsel, for he served in the double capacity of personal physician and chief minister. He, too, brought a present of fruit, spoke of the good-will that characterized the relations of the two governments, asked after Lowrie’s health, turned a neat compliment or two, and took his leave. One or two of his compliments are too good to pass over. After some minutes of conversation he volunteered this : “ The bud of my heart which was shut up, has been opened by the wind of your conversation.” And again on taking leave he said, “ You are like a treasury of precious jewels, which I am unable to obtain,” referring, as Lowrie surmised, to his requiring an interpreter in the conversation which had just taken place.

The way had now been prepared for Mr. Lowrie to visit the Maharaja himself. Having been received by him with marked favour, the young missionary presented him with the simple gifts that he had brought, namely an English Bible, and a Punjabi version of the

Pentateuch.¹ Ranjit Singh then proceeded to catechise his guest, first upon religious matters and then upon the numerous topics that his curiosity prompted: what impression had his meeting with the Governor-General at Rupar a few years previously left upon the mind of His Excellency? was Lowrie acquainted with the military and medical science? was he married? why he wore crepe on his arm? why he wore spectacles?—and then the inevitable question, “do you understand horses?”

This was but the first of several audiences which Lowrie enjoyed during the month of his sojourn in Lahore. On the occasion of the final interview he was presented with the usual ‘*khilat*’ comprising several pieces of silk, cotton goods, articles of jewellery, probably a carpet, a horse, and some hundreds of rupees in silver. When it was explained that Mr. Lowrie would of course surrender these gifts to the Society he represented, Ranjit Singh insisted that he should at least keep the horse for his own personal use. In this Mr. Lowrie acquiesced; and used it regularly until his final departure from Ludhiana whereupon it was sold, enriching the Mission Treasury by the large sum of eighty rupees.

When Lowrie reached Ludhiana upon his return from Lahore, he found letters awaiting him announcing the impending arrival of five recruits, the Rev. James Wilson, the Rev. John Newton, their wives, and a Miss Davis. There was now no reason for further delay in obeying the imperative orders of his physician; and early in the year 1836 he embarked upon the homeward voyage. The voyage and the change of climate together enabled Mr. Lowrie not only to recover his health but to live to a ripe old age.

And so was begun the work of the “Lodiana Mission,” which is nearing the completion of its first century of service. In these old books and manuscripts are hidden the accounts of the journey to Lahore of Dr. Forman and Mr. Newton, before the ink of the Proclamation of Annexation was fairly dry, and of their early experiences in this city. Here too is the record of suffering and heroism which marked the year of the Mutiny. But that is another story.

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. S. K. Datta for calling his attention to the following note which appears in the section “*Asiatic Intelligence*” of the *Asiatic Journal*, issue of July-August, 1832 (Vol. VIII, New Series, page 34): “At a meeting of the Calcutta Bible Association on the 6th January [1832] Archdeacon Corrie (who resigned the Presidency) announced that Ranjit Singh had desired an English Missionary to call on him in private, to explain to him the Christian religion, and was so interested in it, that he desired to be immediately furnished with a copy of the Holy Scriptures.” It is doubtless in this desire of Ranjit Singh, thus casually recorded, that the invitation to Mr. Lowrie to visit Lahore had its genesis.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE AMBELA EXPEDITION—1863.

BY R. R. SETHI.

About the year 1823, one of those famous saintly adventurers made his appearance on the Yusafzai frontier, who have at all times managed to beguile the credulous and simple Pathan race for their own ends, and have been the means of creating discord, upheaving society, and fomenting rebellions, which have been checked and crushed with the utmost difficulty. This man was Syed Ahmed Shah of Bareilly. At one period of his life he was the companion-in-arms of the celebrated Amir Khan Pindari, who was himself a Pathan, born in the valley of Buner. Syed Ahmad studied Arabic at Delhi and then proceeded to Mecca by way of Calcutta. It was during this journey that his doctrines obtained the ascendancy over the minds of the Mahomedans of Bengal, which has ever since led them to supply their colony at Sittana with fresh recruits. It was in 1824 that the adventurer arrived by way of Kandahar and Kabul amongst the Yusafzai tribes of the Peshawar border, with about forty Hindustani followers.¹

Syed Ahmad came at a happy moment, for it was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusafzais and other Pathans (which had been lowered by the crushing defeat they and the Peshawar Sardars had received from Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the battle of Nowshera), by religious exhortation. He easily gathered recruits; and meanwhile his own following had been swelled to some nine hundred by malcontents and fanatics from Bengal.²

In 1827 he sallied out to lay siege to Attock, but after a slight preliminary success was utterly defeated by the Sikhs; and he then fled with a few companions to Swat, and gradually worked his way back through Buner to Yusafzai. With full faith in his miraculous

¹ *Annals of the Government of India*, List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31, from the Secretary to the Government, India, Foreign Department, with the

² *Ibid.*

powers the Pathans again assembled round him, and in a two years' career of conquest he gathered the whole of Yusafzai under his control. Unfortunately the holy man's love of money made his rule so oppressive that the Pathans rose against him and drove him across the Indus, where, after a stubborn battle against the Sikhs, he was overpowered and slain.¹

Of his disciples who escaped with their lives, a portion found their way to Sittana, on the Mahaban mountain, some fifty miles above Attock on the right bank of the Indus. There they settled down to the depredation of the lower lands and the kidnapping and murder of peaceful traders on the highways, receiving occasional recruits and even subsidies from lower Bengal.²

The first collision of the British with them occurred in 1853, when the fanatics had abetted an offending tribe in hostilities against the former, boasting loudly of their prowess, but had fled precipitately before two Sikh regiments. Being then left alone, they returned to their evil ways and brought upon themselves a second punitive expedition under General Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858.³ Cotton attacked Sittana itself, inflicting severe loss on the troublesome Hindustanis, who fought doggedly and well; but it was felt at the time that the penalty exacted from them was insufficient. Two neighbouring tribes (Gadun and Utmanzai) had engaged themselves to prevent the fanatics from re-occupying Sittana; so the latter built themselves a new village at Malka, some eleven miles to the north-west of their old settlement and on the northern slope of the Mahaban.⁴

But in 1861 they came down to a place named Siri, just overhanging their old haunt at Sittana, and commenced sending robbers

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² *Ibid.*

³ Vide Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes's letter No. B of the 14th May, 1858, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, and the Secretary to the Government, the force under Sir Sydney Cotton, of the operations of the Sittana fanatics. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

⁴ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546, dated 11/2/61, from the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner, Peshawar Division.

into Hazara to carry off Hindu traders.¹ The offence of the Gaduns was that, in contravention of their agreement, they allowed free passage to the Hindustanis through their territory when proceeding on and returning from their kidnapping and marauding expeditions.²

In order to bring them to a sense of their responsibilities, the Utmanzais and Gaduns were accordingly placed under blockade, and on October 2, 1861, they came in and made their submission, and consented to enter into fresh engagements to exclude the Syeds and Hindustanis.³

In the beginning of 1862, it was reported that the numbers of the Hindustanis had been increased, and several robberies having been committed by robbers dispatched by Syed Mubarik Shah (son of Syed Akbar Shah, the King of Swat) into the Hazara territory, it

Colonel R. G. Taylor, dated the 11th September, and starts across the river, and has been extreme cases of the offence taking place on the road, and reaches to reach by nightfall. On the road, in some lonely taken aside into the jungle or some mountain nook, and there kept close under drawn swords till dark, when the whole party starts by well-known, but unfrequented, tracks to the mountainous river-board, where according to one of Major Adam's informants, the victim is inserted into an inflated skin, and a brigand, mounting on it, ferries him over. Whatever the plan adopted, the unfortunate is whisked across the Indus, and when once over is fairly safe till his relations, or other obstruction, cease the encumbrance, they and, into a

Of the difficulties of exercising any preventive measures against these acts, the Commissioner observes in the same dispatch that, "From the nature of the country it has been found impossible to deal with these acts merely by protective police arrangements. The actors are bold men, and actuated by a thirst for money for the actual needs of life, sharpened by hostility to us; while it would take the whole of the Hazara force one day to search one mountain, and at the end they would be quite knocked up and useless. What, then, could be hoped from a limited body of police in a tract of country containing a constant succession of such mountains? These are crimes which nothing but pressure on the head and source of the offence can check. The men who send out these brigands, and those who harbour and give them passage through their lands, must be reached and made to suffer, and then, and then alone, will the activity of their emissaries be checked."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

¹ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 127, dated Peshawar, the 9th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 105, dated Peshawar, the 11th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

was recommended by the Panjab authorities that an expedition be undertaken against Malka.

This recommendation accorded with the opinion of Major James, the Commissioner of Peshawar, then in England, and of the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, who in his dispatch No. 18 of April 7, 1862, wrote as follows: "I am disposed to agree with the Commissioner of Peshawar that it will eventually be necessary to expel the offenders by force of arms and that they will be a lasting source of trouble so long as they are permitted to remain in the neighbourhood."

The Supreme Government, however, were of opinion at that time that sufficient cause for undertaking an expedition had not been shown.¹

During the autumn of 1862 and ensuing cold season, there was a considerable immunity from these kidnapping practices; but again in the Spring of 1863 two murders were committed, which were generally attributed to Syed Mubarik Shah's men, and on July 5, it was reported that the Syeds and Hindustanis had suddenly re-occupied Sittana² and had renewed their old nefarious activity of thieving and murder. No attempt to prevent their doing so was made by the Gadun or Utmanzai tribe, and some of their members actually invited them.

These tribes, being called upon for their reasons for having thus broken the engagements they had entered into, only afforded evasive replies; the Gaduns laying the blame on the Utmanzais, and the Utmanzais on Gaduns,³ and as the Syeds and Hindustanis were sending threatening messages to the Chief of Amb, a feudatory protected by the British Government, military measures were taken for maintaining a blockade against the Gadun and Utmanzai tribes,

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Service Message No. 69, dated Peshawar, the 5th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546, dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner Peshawar Division.

and militia were entertained for the purpose of protecting the territory of the Amb Chief.¹

The Syeds and Maulvi Abdulla (the military leader of the Hindustani fanatics) were now acting with their Hindustani followers in the bitterest spirit against the British Government; the leaders of the colony expressly declared "they were embarked in determined opposition to the infidel," and called upon "all good Mahomedans to quit the friendship of the unbelieving, and join the would-be-martyrs of the faith." A letter to this effect was sent to the Chief of Amb.²

On the night of September 3, 1863, Maulvi Abdulla, with his Hindustanis, and accompanied, it was said, by Malik Esau of the Gadun tribe, attempted to attack the camp of the Guides at Topi. The attacking force had arrived within a short distance of the camp, when they came upon a cavalry patrol of one duffadar and four sowars of the Guide Corps. The duffadar had been previously warned of the neighbourhood of a body of men, and on coming on an advanced party he immediately attacked them. Two men were cut down, and the rest, rushing back on the main body, communicated a panic, which ended in a general and disgraceful flight. The Hindustanis then erected a breastwork on the right bank of the Indus, from which they continued to annoy the picquet held by the levies at Naogiran.³

About the 10th of September, the Hassanzai tribe, instigated, it was supposed by the Maulvi of Sittana, made an unprovoked attack on the hamlets in the little Shunglai valley of the Black Mountain, in which the most advanced outpost of the Amb territory is situated. The fort was not molested, but some six or seven hamlets were destroyed, and one man, who resisted, was killed.⁴

¹ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Demi-official letter dated the 11th September, 1863. From Lieut. R. Sandeman, Assistant Commissioner, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Diary of H. H. Cox, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, dated the 10th September, 1863.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The Hassanzais then threatened an attack on Chamberi, and a portion of the Mada Khels crossed the Indus with the intention of assisting them; but the frontier line having been greatly strengthened by the Amb authorities, the gathering broke up, and the Mada Khels recrossed the river. Shortly afterwards, the Hassanzais made an attack on the Amb levies on the Black Mountain border, in which one jemadar and seven men were killed, and several of the levies wounded.¹

It was now considered that the time had arrived when it became absolutely necessary to have recourse to military operations.² Hitherto the hostilities and provocations had been offered by detached tribes, but now, for the first time, the majority, if not the whole, of the Hazara border tribes were arrayed against the British Government. In the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, it was perhaps possible, though very doubtful, to avert a campaign by making use of the feuds and factions of the different tribes to sow discord in their councils; but this could only put off the day of reckoning a little further. Delay, which with these tribes is little understood, might encourage other tribes to action, and a favourable opportunity might thus be lost for putting an end to the chronic frontier irritation which then existed. That an expedition against these tribes would be forced on the British Government sooner or later appeared inevitable, and condonation without chastisement would only be an inducement for them to repeat their offences.³

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2320, dated the 5th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

² Colonel Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, writing to the Secretary to Panjab Government, in a dispatch No. 165, dated September 11, 1863, remarks: "The Gaduns, who are the most powerful tribe, have themselves acknowledged, but try to evade."

"... not encouraged, the fanatic colony to return from Sittana. Unless this flagrant contempt of our power not only lose authority and influence on the border, but it will be very certain to be visited upon us in a tangible form by other instances of open defiance. The Gaduns are the most powerful tribe, which every instance than those with which it may now be engaged in."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government, with the Governor-General,

An expedition was accordingly sanctioned by the Supreme Government, the first object of which was effectually to rid the frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance—the Hindustani fanatics. Their mere expulsion from the right bank of the Indus upon their old posts at Malka and on the south bank of the Barandu, was not considered enough; nor was it thought advisable that they should find shelter in Swat, and make that powerful tribe the future focus of disturbance on the frontier.¹

The Governor-General was of the opinion that the “punishment of the Gaduns was to be a secondary consideration to the primary one of crushing effectually the small, but troublesome, horde of fanatics; and with this purpose in view, the civil officer who accompanies the expedition should make it his object not only to discriminate carefully between those tribes who have as yet shown no sign of hostility and those who, through fear of the British approach in force, make professions of repentance; but also to hold out to the latter that their sincerity will be measured by the assistance they may render in capturing dispersed fanatics, and that by no other course can they atone for their complicity, and escape retributive measures.”²

With regard to the plan of operations, Colonel Taylor’s proposal was that the force should march to the head of the Gadun country, either direct from Topi *via* Bisak, etc., or by following the route of the expedition of 1858 to Mangal Thana and from there working across; and that it should be met near Sittana by a column advancing up the right bank of the Indus by crossing it at Rorgush. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab had suggested generally that the force should march in two columns and sweep the country on either side of the Mahaban range by mounting its heights and thence dictating terms to the tribes.³

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government, Panchab.

² *Ibid.*

³ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the

The Supreme Government, however, laid down that "whilst occupying the attention of the fanatics and their allies on the line of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Sittana, the aim should be, if there be no serious military objections to this course, to push up a strong column to Mangal Thana and Malkaso as to interpose between the fanatics and their line of retreat towards the Barandu, their posts on which might be occupied by a separate light column or by a detachment from the main column. The latter would, from Mangal Thana and Malka, then operate, in conjunction with our troops on the Indus line, against the fanatics; and though their extirpation may, as anticipated by Colonel Taylor, not be possible, yet their dispersion would, under such circumstances, be on the lines of direction favourable to their capture, if the co-operation of the well-disposed sections of the tribes could be elicited."¹

In a dispatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, it was added that "the strength and composition of each column, and the route to be followed, can probably best be fixed by the General Officer commanding the troops, in consultation with the Commissioner accompanying the force."²

Accordingly, on September 27, 1863, Colonel A. Wilde, commanding the Corps of Guides, under whose directions the blockade against the Gaduns had been conducted, submitted a memorandum through Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain who had been appointed to command the expeditionary force. In this document it was stated that the expedition of 1858, although successful, had not been conclusive as to its results. The Gadun tribe had not felt the power of the British Government; and although the Hindustanis had been turned out of Mangal Thana and driven from Sittana, they had retreated on Malka, more from the pressure put upon them by the Gadun tribe than from the defeats they had sustained from the British troops.

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352.
From the Secretary to Government
or-General to the Secretary to Govern-

ment, Panjab.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 414, dated the 25th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

For the future peace of the border, Wilde said the destruction of this colony of priests and fanatics was a necessity, and that they must be removed by death or capture from the hills, and a treaty made with the hill tribes not to allow them to reside in their territories.

He considered that the plan of campaign would have to be totally different in its nature from that pursued in 1858. The force to be employed would have to be a strong one, and it would be necessary to occupy temporarily the country to the north of the Mahaban; the military object in view being to attack the Hindustanis from the north, and force them to fight with their backs to the plains: operating, in fact, on their line of retreat, instead of, as before, advancing from the plains, driving them out of Mangal Thana and Sittana, and allowing them a safe retreat and passage into the hills.¹ To effect this, two columns were to be employed—the base of operations of one column being in the Peshawar Valley, and that of the other in Hazara.²

The Peshawar column was to be assembled at Nawakila and Swabi Manairi, with the avowed object, as in 1858, of moving on Mangal Thana (which would be naturally expected); but, when ready to march, the column was to pass through the Ambela defile (or more properly, the Surkhawai Pass) and occupy the village of Kogah, in the Chamla Valley, thirteen miles by a camel road chiefly over British territory, and stated then to be “easy in the extreme.” The next day the force was to march to Cherorai, sixteen miles, an open plain near the river Barandu, when simultaneously with the occupation of Cherorai, the Hazara column was to drop down the Indus and drive the enemy out of Sittana, occupying that place; the Peshawar Column moving on the third day to Malka.³

The advantages of this plan of operations were thus reckoned: That the Gaduns, finding their country commanded by the force in

¹ This proposal, it should be noted, met in some way the suggestion made in the Secretary to the Government of India's letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

³ *Ibid.*

the Chamla Valley, would keep quiet, and perhaps assist in capturing the defeated Hindustanis. That the operations would be in an open valley containing several fine villages and admitting of the employment of cavalry; whence also flying columns could be sent up the Mahaban, the northern slopes of which are easier than the southern. It also afforded the alternatives either of withdrawing to the plains through the Ambela Pass, or by sending back the cavalry by that route and advancing the rest of the force either to Mangal Thana or Sittana, as might be found feasible.¹

There remained the question of the attitude of the neighbouring tribes. The Chamla Valley is bounded on the north by the Guru mountain, six thousand feet high, which with the district to north of it is the home of the Bunerwals. No trouble was anticipated from them, for they had no sympathy with the fanatics and held different religious opinions. Moreover, they formed part of the flock of the *Akhund* of Swat, rather a remarkable man, who was a kind of pontiff of Islam in those quarters and had denounced the fanatics as actual infidels.

Both the Bunerwals and the Swatis, who lay to north-west of the fanatics, were expected to look with approval on the coming campaign; and the valley of Chamla itself belonged to a mixture of unimportant tribes, some friendly, some hostile towards the British. It was considered imprudent to sound any of the clans as to their feelings lest the plan of campaign should thereby be revealed, which was likely enough. It was anticipated by Colonel A. Wilde, that on the whole the entire affair should be ended in three weeks.²

The Governor-General approved of Colonel Wilde's suggestions and communicated it to Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief. The actual plan of operations was not laid before Sir Hugh, for it was not finally determined upon by the Lieutenant-Governor

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain,

of the Panjab until the last moment;¹ but none the less Rose lost no time in giving his opinion.

He pointed out, first, the danger of denuding Peshawar and other stations of troops and transport at the very moment when, by entering the mountains at one point, the British should arouse excitement along the whole line. Next, he remarked that the proper equipment of even five thousand men (as proposed by the Panjab authorities), as regards supplies, ammunition and transport, for so difficult and arduous a duty would need far more time than had been allowed, and that the period allotted for active operations (three weeks) was too short. Finally he urged that hasty flying marches through the mountains had produced no satisfactory results in the past, and were not likely to produce them at present. He therefore advised a strict blockade of the district during the winter and the dispatch of a carefully prepared and equipped expedition in the Spring.² This sound common sense was however disregarded.

¹ Colonel Wilde's proposal was personally submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab by General Chamberlain at Murree. It was discussed at a meeting convened by His Honour at which the following were present :—

Sir Robert Montgomery, General Chamberlain, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Forsyth and Captain Black.

The proposal appeared to be sound, and His Honour decided that Colonel Taylor should at once proceed to the spot and in communication with Colonel Wilde, carry out the fullest enquiries regarding it. There was no time for a reference to His Honour who agreed to the adoption of the route into the Chamla Valley, provided that after Colonel Taylor's enquiries, both he and the General continued to think it the best that could be adopted.—Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 18, dated the 8th January, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 7th October, 1863. From the Adjutant-General of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

AN EARLY SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLER IN THE PANJAB.

By H. L. O. GARRETT.

[*Paper read on 27th March 1933.*]

In the travels of Prince Alexis Soltykoff which recently appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* there is the following passage:—Ludhiana. February 19th, 1842. “A week ago a young English Doctor called Jameson, a naturalist and geologist came back from a trip to Kashmir which was abortive from the outset, for he had scarcely gone a mile or two towards that mysterious valley, escorted by 200 of the King of Lahore’s troops, when 700 cavalry of a hostile faction attacked them, killed six of his escort and took away all his baggage (a loss amounting to Rs. 4,400 *vide infra*). He fled and was hotly pursued by them. Fortunately he found a fort where he was able to take refuge, for it was occupied by the royal troops. He only managed to return here in disguise and travelling at night at the risk of being captured any moment by the scoundrels who were lying in wait for him. Such is the story he related to me and he is a nice youngster who is certainly not lying; in any case this is the form in which the episode has been reported to Government.” Prince Soltykoff appears to have got hold of some erroneous ideas in making the above statement and Dr. Jameson’s own version of the journey gives a somewhat different account. Through the researches of my colleague Dr. K. C. Khanna, we have now been able to obtain more details of Dr. Jameson’s journey, which have been unearthed from the records in the India Office. Dr. Jameson published his report in March 1843 under the title of “The Geology, Zoology, etc., of the Panjab and a part of Afghanistan, by William Jameson, M.R.C.S., etc., on deputation to the Indus.” Though his paper covered a variety of subjects, the main object of his deputation was to enquire into the great Indus flood in 1841,¹ a flood which occurred again, as it may be remembered, in 1929.² On the first occasion the general damage and loss of life was great and widespread.³

¹ Caused by the blocking of the course of the river by a landslip caused by an earthquake.

² Though on this occasion the obstruction which caused the damage was a glacier.

³ While on the second, thanks to careful preparation by the Panjab authorities, the loss of life was small.

The present selection details mainly with a general description of the Panjab and in particular with visits to various salt mines, etc., and also the possibility of developing the mineral wealth and resources of the Panjab. It is interesting to note that Dr. Jameson and other British officers quoted in his paper speak of the future of the Panjab in a way which seems to indicate that its ultimate annexation by the British was regarded as only a matter of time. We shall come across frequent references to this in the course of the narrative and one is led to wonder whether Moorcroft's earlier journey in the 20's was not also undertaken for spying out the land—although his ostensible object was horse buying.

Dr. Jameson owed his selection for the work to Mr. (Sir) G. R. Clerk, then the Governor-General's Agent in the Panjab, who also obtained for him permission from Maharajah Sher Singh to travel in his dominions. Before starting he settled on a route under the advice of Col. Garden—then Assistant Quarter-Master-General. The latter had visited the Panjab in 1837, when the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, had paid a complimentary visit on the occasion of the marriage of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, and an excellent map of Lahore and its environs drawn by him at the time may be seen in the Panjab Record office.

The author then proceeds: "On ascertaining the object in view His Highness complied with Mr. Clerk's request and with his usual liberality appointed an Agent and a Guard to attend on me and afford me every assistance and protection." His stay in the Panjab was however destined to be a short one. The murder of the Agent at Kohat and the unsettled state of the Ghilzai country caused him to be recalled before his mission was accomplished. (This is somewhat at variance with Soltykoff's statement).

We now pass to his description of what he saw in the Panjab.

"Ranjit Singh extended his conquest across the Indus into the rocky mountainous countries which though he overran them are anything but subdued and are ready to a man to rise at the first signal reverse happening to the Sikh arms. A great part of the country

only nominally belongs to the Sikhs. Thus in all the hilly country north-west of Suket, Mandi, etc., a large portion of the hilly country west of the Indus (with the exception of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan which are ruled by Sikh Governors), *viz.*, the country to the north-west of Duraband, and all the country south of the Khyber range comprehending Kohat, Khattack, Kalabagh, etc., the Sikh control is very slight." Of the Panjab rivers and their use in the future development of the agricultural wealth of the province he speaks with singular prescience. "The fertilizing effects of these rivers, *protected and encouraged by a mild and powerful Government*, will some day render the Panjab one of the finest countries in India. But at the present moment the vast plain presents nothing but a waste comparatively speaking with cultivation only here and there. Even in the neighbourhood of the capital itself we meet with extensive jungles, the luxuriance of whose vegetation shows what use could be made of the soil." Of the inhabitants he says: "Of all people in India there are probably none so adapted for the plough as the Sikhs," but the population was scanty—"there is nothing which strikes the traveller so much as the scanty population of the Panjab when compared with the well-populated country included under the protected States. Proceeding from Lahore to Jalalpur *via* Kori, Meraliwalah, Alipur, Ramnagar, Mangut, etc., we pass over vast uncultivated tracts, with here or there in the centre of the bushy jungle a small village with some rich cultivated fields around it, and now and then, breaking up the monotony of the flat plain, we meet with hillocks marking the site of towns and villages which are now no more but whose streets, houses, etc., have left this memento of their former existence, or deep ravines, the haunt of the wolf or the jackal. Bunds of sand traverse the country in a north and south direction which point out the old beds of rivers and prove that all of them have been changed. Then the Sutlej which formerly ran close to the town of Ludbiana is now seven miles to the northward.¹ The Ravi which twenty years ago washed the walls of the city of Lahore runs in a channel three miles to the northward. The channel which 10 or 12 years ago ran close to the town of Ramnagar is now

¹ As to-day.

four miles distant and the same applies to the Jhelum. The changes in the Indus are striking too. Where it leaves its mountain channel at Kalabagh, kunkur, a compact marl, formed no doubt from the deposits of springs that formerly existed, is frequently to be found forming beds in the clayey soil, either stiff clay or sand and clay mixed with each other, in varying proportions. Between Jalalpur and Pind Dadan Khan the soil consists of a black rich loam and is probably the finest in the Panjab. On the west of the Indus the banks on the way to Peshawar are dry and barren." Dr. Jameson then gives the following description of the Salt Range :—

"From Jalalpur the Salt Range extends in a north-west by west direction to Mari Indus where it crosses the river and can be traced from there onward to the Khyber.

From it various secondary branches proceed such as one to the north which is met with in the neighbourhood of Rohtas (on which there is a fort of that name) forming the Tilla Hills mentioned by Elphinstone. It extends for a short distance northward and then probably makes a bend to the eastward. These branches join the low group of hills to the north-east but more of them cross the Jhelum below the town. Crossing above it they run on by Bhimber, Jammu, Nurpur and down by the south of Bilaspur, crossing the Jamna at Fyzabad and the Ganges at Hardwar. Like all the other secondary ranges of the Himalayas the Salt Range is parallel to the central or high range." Of the Jalalpur he writes : "The town is built on sandstone conglomerate strata. It has a very pretty appearance the houses being neatly arranged in a neck of the mountain and about 60 feet up the acclivity. The town dates back to the time of Jahangir,¹ at which time the town was large and populous, the ruins now seen about 200 feet above the present site testifying to the accuracy of the statement. Jalalpur was destroyed by Ranjit Singh about the commencement of his career, it being then principally inhabited by Mussalmans. Hindus now form the bulk of the population. On the hill overlooking it are the ruins of the old fort which appears to have been entirely built of boulders from the river."

¹ Akbar according to the Gazetteer.

“From Jalalpur to the river, which is only half a *kos*, masses of stone of any size might be carried and the stone found here is equal to the finest gypsum alabaster of Europe (it is of this substance that the beautiful groups of small white figures and vases imported from Italy are made). The plaster of Paris is procured by exposing this rock to heat which deprives it of its water by crystallization ; it then falls to the state of a white powder, which has a strong affinity for water.”

“Captain Franklin speaking about this rock, as found among the Himalayas, says that it is probable that its chief use in Bengal would be as convertible into plaster of Paris and as affording a material for cornices and ornamental work to the banishment of the very rude productions of this kind that we have hitherto put up with. There is perhaps a sufficient quantity of it to answer any demand likely to arise as, when Government House (Calcutta) was last repaired, it was considered desirable to obtain a sufficiency for the purpose above mentioned, but the fact of its occurrence within our own mountain provinces was not known at that time ; as it is within 50 or 60 miles of water carriage it might be expected to pay for its cost of transport.”

Dr. Jameson continues : “In addition to its value in the arts, it forms an excellent manure and could be applied with great advantage to many of the soils in the Panjab.

To the natives its uses are quite unknown,¹ but, when it is appreciated, or *rather when the country falls into the hands of a Government which knows its value*, we may venture to foresee, from its occurring in such vast quantities close to the bank of river that it could form a valuable article of exportation to Bombay, etc., and even now, by the excellent arrangements made with the Lahore Government by Mr. Clerk, it is not liable to duty. To the Bombay Government therefore the gypsum is well worthy of attention seeing that it might be most advantageously used in the public buildings. The experiment is well worthy of a trial whether executed by Government or by private means. If by the latter and encouraged it would no doubt yield a good return.”

¹ Still are (Gazetteer 1904), though in modern times it has been tried experimentally as a cleanser of salt-impregnated soil, but the cost is prohibitive,

“Proceeding along the hills in a north by west direction we reach the village of Raghanwala distant about 4 *kos*.¹ The inhabitants are principally Awans or rather were, seeing that it is almost entirely deserted, owing to the rapacity of Rajah Gulab Singh's soldiery. On the hill is a fort garrisoned by 200 Jammu troops.” He then proceeds to describe the salt mines. “A few miles further north-west is the village of Rewal from where the party proceeded to examine the salt mines of Tuteneb distant about 4 *kos*.² On the acclivity is the pretty village surrounded by palm trees—the residence of the miners—and containing about 200 inhabitants. The mines are about two miles further on but beyond this all the water is either salt or brackish. The mines situated up the stream are 45 feet above the bed of the stream and have been opened 20, 30 and 35 years respectively. The shafts are about 6 feet in height and 3 in breadth, varying in length from 140—180 yards. Before arriving at the principal bed of salt we passed several small ones varying from 3—6 feet in thickness, longest being from 70—200 feet.

The dress of the miner consists of a small piece of dirty white cotton cloth wrapped round the body with a similar piece round the head while to protect his skin from the splinters of rock salt a thick pad of black woollen cloth is worn. His tools are few in number and of a simple nature, *viz.*, a large hammer, sharp pointed at one end and flattened at the other, chisels and hand picks.³ With these he removes masses varying in weight from 3—4 *pukka* maunds (240—320 lbs.), two of which are a camel load. Smaller masses are also removed by laden oxen, etc.

“In removing the larger masses accidents, owing to the narrowness of the shafts, frequently occur. To light up the mines small oil lamps are used appended to which are long hooks in order to fasten them to any projecting pieces of rock salt.

“The miner is capable of removing 8 *pukka* maunds per diem for which he receives one anna per maund but he supplied himself with oil and tools which cost 4 annas. On carrying the salt out of the

¹ Now a centre for paving and building stone.

² In Sikh times the salt was washed at each available spot, after the annexation it was limited. This place is not shown on map.

³ From Gazetteer of 1904 it seems the tools have changed little.

mine an additional 2 annas is given: this however is the work of another individual who is capable of removing 16 maunds per diem. The salt is conveyed to Pind Dadan Khan by camels, bullocks, etc., as no salt is allowed to be sold at the mines, and then sold at the rate of Re. 1/- per *pukka* maund. When Maharajah Ranjit Singh held the mines in his own hands a rupee was charged for a camel load but prior to farming them out to the Jammu Raja he had raised the price to Rs. 2/-.¹ Now the price of a camel load varies from Rs. 6—8 and before reaching Ambala, after paying hire, duty, etc., it costs from Rs. 18—20. The salt is sold in the bazar at the rate of from 13—15 seers a rupee.

“The mines are guarded by a part of the Rajah's hill troops and are divided into three divisions—that of Pind Dadan Khan having a population of 10,000. In the central division there is a mud fort also garrisoned by a battalion of their troops with some horse artillery. There is a wide plain near by on which the salt was lying in great quantities and there were also scales for weighing it prior to loading the camels, of which there were about 70—80 present.

“Further to the west was the largest mine Khewra, so called from a village of that name. It is four *kos* from Pind Dadan Khan and the route is similar to that which leads to the other mines, up the bed of a mountain torrent containing but little water. Its banks however were in many places covered with efflorescence of salt much resembling lately fallen snow. The village of Khewra is close to the mine and contains about 250 inhabitants. Here we were met by some of Rajah Gulab Singh's people. The shaft was similar to those already described but of much greater length, being not less than 300 yards. In sinking it much practical knowledge has been evinced; thus in the gallery we frequently passed beds of 10—12 feet in thickness. These however have been cut through and left untouched, and the shaft curved on to the great deposit. But how the individual who first opened the mine was led to conclude that a large bed of salt existed beyond the smaller one (it being so contrary to the native

¹NOTE.—The mention of the salt mines being farmed out to the Jammu family is interesting and one wonders at what stage they abandoned their custody. At all events the mines were considered the personal property of the Royal family and years after Dalip Singh attempted litigation in England to recover them.

character to risk capital if a means of repaying himself with interest for what he has already laid out is presented, which undoubtedly the beds mentioned would have given him) whether by the out-cropping of the salt in another part of the hills from mining operations carried out in some other place or from geological reasoning we could not ascertain. Neither could we obtain definite information as to the time when the mines were opened, further than that it was during the time of the Emperors. On entering the mine all the natives took off their shoes and proceeded barefooted. After we had gone down the inclined place about 200 yards the air became very oppressive. To descend into the great cavity we found a similar arrangement of steps cut in the solid rock salt, but the sight presented here was truly magnificent, far surpassing any geological exhibition that we had ever witnessed and it well repaid us for our suffocating trip. By the innumerable lamps the mine was well lighted up and this light being reflected by the beautiful crystalline walls, formed a splendid and brilliant hall of about 300 feet in circumference by fifty in height, contrasting well with a deep dark abyss to the end of which the eye could not penetrate, formed by an old abandoned shaft which the water had inundated. Adjoining this are several other shafts in a similar state. The thickness of the principal bed could not be ascertained as it occupies the whole extent of the mine, but it is upwards of several hundred feet. At 8 a.m. the thermometer stood in the shade at 45 degrees and in the mine at 77 degrees but owing to the state of the air it appeared to be much more. To the health it is more prejudicial. The inhabitants informed me that all of them suffer severely, after working for a few years from affections of the chest,¹ so that the average period of life with them does not average more than from 35—40 years. All presented a most sickly appearance similar to that we observed in individuals living near the marshy districts in the Panjab valleys." Dr. Jameson's party then ascended the pass leading into the Salt Range, which lies 4 kos north-west from Pind Dadan Khan. They then descended "to the small but pretty village of Chua Sydun Shah. From thence the road to Katas winds

¹ Mentioned by other medical men and said to be due to the action of the powdered salt on the mucous membrane.

along the bank of a small stream whose water is supplied by a large spring in the centre of the town. The inhabitants are mostly *fakirs* and it is so celebrated for its sanctity by the Hindus as to induce them to bring the bodies of their relations here from as far away as 50 miles in order to burn them. When we were there, several were burning and the ashes of others were collected in heaps. The place was a favourite resort of Maharajah Ranjit Singh who built a Baradari there; and there was also a building for the Jammu Rajahs."

"The spring at Katas is hot in winter and cold in summer—the temperature of the air in the morning being 20 degrees lower than that of the water. The depth is unknown. A man is said by tradition to have gone on making a rope for 12 years without fathoming it."

"On the barren hills between Katas and Mari Indus the best horses of the Panjab are bred but that does not infer much as a very good country-bred horse is rarely seen."

They then traversed a number of streams and nullahs, "all of them in general having sand in their banks containing gold which is extensively washed every month—December and February excepted. Similar gold is found on the banks of the Indus."

Of Kalabagh and Mari Indus Dr. Jameson's remarks :—Of all geological sites in India there are probably none more interesting or important than that comprehended under Mari Indus and Kalabagh, the former on the east and the latter on the west side of the Indus—distant $\frac{1}{2}$ kos from each other and interesting from the nature, position, and organic remains which the rocks contain."

Dr. Jameson had been asked to report on the possibility of coal in this area. He was doubtful but "it had been asserted that were the Salt Range east of the Indus examined by a geologist there is ample reason to believe that discoveries of value to Government would be the result." However Dr. Jameson maintained that the yield in the Kalabagh area would not be sufficient to make it a paying proposition. He added "the use of coal as fuel was unknown to the inhabitants but being used by them as a medicine in various diseases, it is so much prized as to have led them to believe that a large sum

would be given for it. 2,000 maunds were available at Kalabagh at Rs. 4/- a maund."

Alum Slate.—Of this Dr. Jameson writes: "Next to salt in economical value at Kalabagh is the alum slate from which large quantities of alum are manufactured. There were 14 factories with 10—12 workmen in each. The alum slate is brought to the factories on donkeys at the rate of one anna per maund. The following is the process of manufacture :—

"A layer of wood about two feet thick is prepared over which is spread a layer of alum slate of about the same thickness which is sprinkled with water. These layers are built up—6 or 7 of them—to a height of from 25—30 feet. The whole is then lighted and allowed to burn for anything from 12—24 hours. When cooled about 1,000 maunds are thrown into a tank and mixed with an equal quantity of water and left for three days. Then the water—which has become a deep red colour—is allowed to flow into another tank—while the clay left behind is strained into a large iron boiler and boiled for 3—5 hours until the quantity is reduced to $\frac{1}{6}$ th. This is then mixed with two maunds of potash and conducted to another boiler and boiled till ready and then poured into red clay vessels capable of holding 3 maunds. After crystallizing the vessels are broken off.¹ The alum is not quite pure being red or semi-transparent, owing to the iron it contains. It is sold at Rs. 17/4/- the camel load of 6 maunds (384 lbs.) Rs. 2/4/- being taken as duty by the Malik. All the earth near Kalabagh is almost blood-red and this, with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks and the Indus flowing in a deep and clear stream through lofty mountains past this extraordinary town, presented such a scene of wonder as is seldom to be witnessed (Elphinstone)." According to the latter alum has long been manufactured at Kalabagh.

"Nitre is obtained in the vicinity of Kalabagh in the black soil about 8 kos to the south of the town."

The Malik of Kalabagh—Allah Yar Khan—derives his income amounting to Rs. 10,000 a year almost entirely from the mineral re-

¹ The modern process differs very little and is described in the Mianwali Gazetteer (1915), page 138. The modern price is Rs. 4/8/- 6/- a maund.

sources of the country. The salt trade however is monopolized by Rajah Gulab Singh who only allows him to sell two boat loads varying from 300—700 maunds per mensem ; little salt is exported to the north-west as other mines are situated in that direction.

The Mandi Salt Mines.—These mines are similar to those at Kalabagh. The marl forms hills which rise up in the form of peaks and needles to a height of 300—400 feet. The needle-shaped formation is produced by the action of the weather. The crystals of salt shine like diamonds.

The mines of Darang are about 3,900 feet above the sea level. In 1839 three were worked—two closed and one open to the light of day.

The first visited had been worked for 3 years and was 200 feet in depth. It was reached by a ladder a mile long with steps 2 feet 2 inches apart and divided into three sections. We were conducted to the mine by two miners who carried torches of wood soaked in turpentine which burned brilliantly.

Method of working.—The method was rough, the only instrument employed being a large sledge hammer. The salt embedded in the marl is traversed by spouts made of the plantain tree which are used in conducting water to any part of the mine intended to be worked. The water gradually wears away a portion of the salt and allows the miner to get at the remainder which he breaks up with his hammer. This plan is also followed in working the open mine, the water being brought from a distance of a mile. The water is not kept but flows away in a winding stream. After working for some time in one place they are obliged to abandon it owing to the quantity of water and open up in another place, which is easily done owing to the softness of the marl. We had many mines pointed out to us which had been abandoned for this reason. This crude method of saving implements and manual labour is unknown in Europe. If the Austrian method of dissolving the salt clay in water—the clay settling and leaving the salt in solution—were adopted in Mandi the salt obtained would be equal or superior to the salt obtained from the Panjab mines.

Method of removal.—In the first mine 8 women and one boy were employed. They carried on each journey two *kacha* maunds (64 lbs.) to the godown distant above $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, and each removes about 12—14 loads a day. The salt is carried in conical-shaped baskets the summit of the cone downwards.

250 people were employed in the mines, 200 of whom received Rs. 4/- per mensem and the remainder from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 15/-. The total cost of working the mines was Rs. 2,000/- a month, while the income was from Rs. 35,000/- to Rs. 60,000/- a year. The salt is sold at 160 lbs. (2 maunds) for a rupee. A Pahari carrying salt to Mandi about 12 miles—receives 2 annas per 42 lbs. (26 seers).

Half the workers are employed in the mines, the other half export the salt to Mandi and Bilaspur. Being inferior in quantity little is exported to the plains, though it is occasionally brought down to Mubarikpur through Simla. Another salt mine 12 *kos* north yields only 50 maunds a day as against 400 at Darang.

Work in cold weather is from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. but they complain much of the cold in the morning their only covering being a dirty piece of cotton cloth similar to that worn in the Panjab mines. Nearly the whole of the inhabitants are engaged in the mines, only a few cultivating the fields.

The revenue yielded by the Darang mines is small compared with that of Pind Dadan Khan and Kalabagh, nor is there much chance of the former being increased owing to the nature of the salt and the inaccessibility of the route for beasts of burden. From Rajah Gulab Singh's people, for the Rajah monopolizes not only the whole of the salt trade but governs the greater part of the hilly country west of the Jhelum, we could not get any definite information regarding the actual revenue yielded, but we believe it is not far short of 14 lakhs. The time however is not far distant, we trust when the country *having come under the rule of a liberal and enlightened government (which would be a subject of congratulation to the whole agricultural and commercial population)* we shall see the revenue increased ten fold. The salt will not only supply the whole of West India but probably may be exported with advantage from Bombay, etc.

Alum.—"The alum can be manufactured in any quantity and it only required encouragement and protection to increase the output." Dr. Jameson is over-sanguine as according to the Mianwali Gazetteer the alum is not of much value commercially owing to the quantity of iron it contains.

"On the value of the gypsum we have already commented. When a change therefore takes place in the government of this country we shall no doubt see the town of Kalabagh raised to one of the most important in the Panjab." And now a very interesting prophecy. "Even though there is no coal worth working we shall soon see another power in action—Electric Magnetism." Such being the case we trust that that important and vital object to the commerce of Central Asia—the opening of the river Indus to free trade, obtained by the advance of the British army in 1838, will be duly appreciated and recompensed by the government for the outlay it caused. As soon therefore as this power is brought into play we may expect to see the trade of this river rival that of its sister the Ganges. But in opening up another grand object has been obtained—a blow given to barbarism in Central Asia and a way laid open to the advancement of European Civilization.¹

Gold Washing.—Between Attock and Kalabagh about 300 individuals are engaged in washing the sand for the gold it contains which occurs in small flattened grains. They work in parties of 7 and 8 and use eight different kinds of implements.

1. One large wooden trough for receiving sand.
2. A pike for removing stones.
3. A shovel.
4. A sieve—the sand is thrown on it and washed through into the large trough with water from a wooden scoop.
5. A wooden scoop—which prevents any stones entering the trough.
- 6, 7 and 8. Vessels for receiving the sand after it has been washed.

¹ NOTE.—So far as utilizing the Indus for commercial purposes is concerned a Marine Department did come into existence in 1861 but was closed in 1872 as it could not compete with the railway. Monograph No. 9 of the Record Office Publications contains full details of its history.

So far as Electric . . . of us saw the fulfilment of the prophecy on March 10 opened the Shalamar transmitting station.

The sand is then carried to their houses and mixed with a little mercury which attracts the gold and by exposing it to heat the mercury is driven off again and the gold left. The latter is sold at Rs. 16/- per tola. A fourth of this, however, is exacted by the Maliks. The washer seldom realizes more than 4 annas a day usually about three—the gold extracted daily varying from 1-2 mashes to $\frac{1}{2}$ tola. The gold is the purest yellow gold.”

“Having examined the country beyond Shurkee we returned to Kalabagh to proceed to Peshawar *via* Shucherdurrah; close to the latter is a high hill named the Onkine salt mine, in the country of Rasul Khan who derives a considerable revenue from it.”

At this stage their progress came to an end as they were attacked and plundered at Kohat by the Afridis as mentioned earlier. In the meantime at Mr. Clerk's request Maharajah Sher Singh sent an escort of horse to protect them and their reception in the Panjab was everywhere friendly. Captain Mackeson the Assistant Political Officer, managed to secure them protection from the Kohat Chiefs through the good offices of General Avitabile, then Governor of Peshawar, and they were received by the General at the latter place.

They then returned, *via* Hasan Abdal, to Pindi and thence, *via* Mianwali and Rohtas, to Jhelum without further incident.

The plundering of the Afridis had however caused a very heavy loss to Dr. Jameson—including most of his clothes, tents and books and transport animals and amounting to a total of Rs. 4,400/-.

FOUR FREE-LANCE FAMILIES.

By H. BULLOCK.

In this article I will try to bring together a number of genealogical particulars regarding various families of European and Eurasian military adventurers in India. The importance of these particulars, the majority of which have not previously been collated, lies in the fact that a number of the more prominent adventurers were closely connected by ties of blood or of marriage. Such connexions must have sometimes had an influence on historical events.

THE DERRIDON FAMILY.

I will begin with the family of Derridon. The first of this name of whom anything is known was one Louis Derridon, who may have come from Pondicherry and, certainly, was dead before December 1782.¹ From statements to the effect that his grand-children by Perron were "Indians" or Eurasians,² it seems reasonably certain that he had an Indian wife. I have traced four of his children:—

- (1) Anne, who married Colonel John William Hessing of Scindia's service (of whom more later). She died at Digah, near Dinapur, on 21st October 1820, leaving issue.³
- (2) Pasquale, who married at Agra, on 20th September 1791, Captain Vitalis Duprat, of Scindia's service.⁴

¹ In his daughter Madeleine's *acte de mariage*, 16th December 1782, he is described as "le feu Deridan" (*sic*) (*Le Général Perron*, par A. Martineau, Paris, 1931, pp. 211-2). His connexion with Pondicherry may be conjectured from *ibid.*, p. 96; though M. Martineau is in error in supposing that Major Louis Derridon was father of Mme. Perron (see note 3 *post*).

² See, e.g., Herbert Eastwick *Hindustan*, London, 1892, p. 329: "Indian mother": and compare the *op. cit.*

³ See article "The Hessings, Killahdars of Agra," in the *Calcutta Statesman*, 21st April 1912. For details of her will, see *post*.

⁴ *Vide* copy of Register (in Latin) of marriages celebrated by the Carmelite Father Gregory, now in the Agra Archdiocese Archives: extracts from which have been furnished me by the kindness of the Rev. Fr. Pius Lyons, O.C. The bride is G. . . . of the widow of the late Deridon" (*sic*). For Duprat, see

not show this second marriage.
⁸ Burke's *Peetage*, under Alington, B.; and Burke's (*colonial Gentry*. Madeleine Deridion was the daughter of Charles Street (1705-1860) the Australian explorer; and a connection with the Hardinge.
 For her adventures in : : : : : Cosens and C. W. Wallace (Lucknow 1933), *passim*.

Andrew Wilson, M.D. She died at Agra, 19th August 1859, aged 51 years, leaving issue.¹

(6) Alexander, killed by rebels at Kala Mahal, Agra, 6th July 1857, together with his wife, son and daughter: a third child (son) escaped.^{1a}

(7) George, alive in 1823.^{1b}

The following would appear to have been either children or, more probably, grandchildren of Major Louis Derridon:—

(8) William A. Derridon, died at Agra, 25th July 1878, aged 56 years.²

(9) Miss Anne Derridon, died at Agra, 9th April 1877, aged 79 years.³

(10) G. S. W. Derridon, died at Agra, 5th September 1905, aged 66 years.⁴

According to various authorities the Derridons are now extinct in the male line. This is corroborated by statements made to me by representatives of former free-lance families at Agra.

An apparent member of the family whom I have been unable to place is "Esperanza Doridon,"⁵ who died at Agra, 7th May 1801; and is buried next to the four infant children of General Perron. She may have been a sister of Mme. Perron.

THE HESSING FAMILY.

We will now pass to the Hessings. The first member of this family with whom we are concerned was Colonel John William Hessing, born at Utrecht, Holland, on 5th November 1739; who after a varied career (related at length in his epitaph)⁶ became a Colonel in Scindia's service; and died at Agra, 21st July 1803, aged 63, being

¹ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 246.

^{1a} *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, Calcutta, 1859-60, pp. 766, 788: *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

^{1b} See section "Some Hessing Wills," *post*.

² *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*; *B. P. & P.* Vol. XLIII, p. 93.

³

⁴

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 145: *Statesman*, 21st April 1912: Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-5.

then Commandant of the Fort and City of Agra. As already noted, he married Anne Derridon, by whom he had issue :—

- (1) George William Hessing, born 1781/2 ; Colonel in Scindia's service ; died at Garden Reach, Calcutta, 6th January 1826, aged 44 ; buried at Barrackpore.¹ Married twice and left issue, of whom more later.
- (2) Thomas William Hessing, died at Digah, near Dinapur, without issue, about 1823.² Note : Amelia Hessing, widow of Thomas Hessing, " up-country trader," who died at Calcutta, 1832, aged 36, was probably his widow.³
- (3) Madeleine, married Colonel Robert Sutherland of Scindia's service (of whom more later), by whom she had issue.

GEORGE HESSING'S CHILDREN.

Colonel George William Hessing appears to have been twice married.⁴ The name of his first wife has not been traced : by her he appears to have had the following child :—

- (1) R. W. Hessing, died at Chinsura, 27th July 1806, aged 3 years 8 months and 21 days.⁵

His second wife, Anne——, survived him and died at Barrackpore, 31st August 1831, aged 38.⁶ The first three of the following children were undoubtedly by her : others may have been by the first wife :—

- (2) John Augustus Hessing, born at Bharatpur (Bhurtpore) " on or about " 11th October 1803 ; ward of Lt.-Col. Hugh Sutherland ; educated at Royal Academy, Inverness ; rejected for an E. I. Company's military cadetship, 15th December 1819, owing to his being of

¹ *Annals*, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-4.

² *Ibid.* by Mr. Justice James of the High Court, in the revised list of M. I. in Bihar and

Orissa which that gentleman

³ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Bengal Obiluary*, 1848 edn., p. 354.

⁶ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

mixed blood;¹ married at Calcutta, 1826, Jane, daughter of Edward Brightman, a well-known merchant;² by whom he had issue.

- (3) George William Hessing, Ensign H. M. 41st Foot, died or was killed in action in First Afghan War, 1841/2. Married M. Behan: *d. s. p.*³

- (4) William Walter George Hessing, died unmarried.⁴

- (5) (?) Thomas Augustus Hessing.⁵

- (6) (?) Miss Jane Harriet Hessing, head teacher, Calcutta Central School, died at Calcutta, 1840, aged 40.⁶

- (7) Madeleine, married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1832, Colonel John Geddes, late H. M. 27th Foot.⁷

SOME HESSING WILLS.

Copies of the wills of Colonel G. W. Hessing (dated 22nd December 1823 : proved Calcutta, 11th January 1826) and of his (? second) wife Anne (dated 6th August 1831 : proved Calcutta, 19th August 1831 : she styles herself Anna therein) are at the India Office.

He mentions three of his children in his will : John Augustus, his eldest son (to whom he left lands, tenements, &c., and whom he appointed one of his executors); William Walter George, his son ; and his youngest son who had not been baptized at the date of the will. Other persons who received legacies are Magdelina Hessing (presumably his grand-daughter, daughter of John Augustus); his friend Lt.-Col. Hugh Sutherland ; his sister-in-law Louisa Finglass, widow ; his friend George Derridon, son of Major Derridon ; his friend William Sutherland, " now residing with me " ;⁸ his nephew John William Sutherland ; and his wife, who was appointed guardian of his children.

¹ Major V. C. P. Hodson has kindly furnished this information from the Cadet Papers at the India Office.

² *Bengal Obituary*, p. 146.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146. Church, 1912, ng.

⁴ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁶ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁸ A nephew of Robert and Hugh Sutherland ; see note 3 on p. 20, *post*.

The other executors were John William and William Sutherland, and "my friend James Calder, Esquire" of the firm of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. of Calcutta, Agents. Testator describes himself as of Digah near Patna in Bihar, "at present residing at Garden Reach near Calcutta."

By Mrs. Anna Hessing's will she left her property in trust to James Gordon of Calcutta, Esq., a member of the firm of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. of the same place, Agents; and Peter Turnbull of Calcutta, gentleman, an assistant in the Custom House,¹ for the benefit of John Augustus Hessing, her eldest son, and her two minor sons, William George and George. The joint trustees were appointed executors also.

The only other Hessing will, of which I have traced a copy at the India Office, is that of Mrs. Anna Hessing (senior), widow of Col. J. W. Hessing. It is dated 20th October 1820, and was proved at Calcutta on 30th January 1821. She describes herself as "of Deegah in Behar near Bengal," and leaves all her property to her three children, Magdalene Sutherland, George William Hessing, and Thomas William Hessing; the last two being appointed executors.

J. A. HESSING'S DESCENDANTS.

John Augustus Hessing, mentioned above, had a daughter Madeleine, who married Captain (afterwards Colonel) John Geddes (nephew of Colonel John Geddes, mentioned above).² She died in 1870, leaving issue:—

(1) Lt.-Col. Gordon Geddes, R.A.³

(2) Lt.-Col. George Hessing Geddes, C.B., C.B.E., R.A. (retired 1919), born 13th November 1864; died Coker, Somerset, 21st February 1933.⁴

(3) Lt.-Col. Augustus Geddes, The Buffs, killed in action at Ypres, April 1916.⁵

: ... P. Marshall formerly an officer in Scindia's service, pension of Rs. 150 monthly

² Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V : *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

³ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁴ *Ibid.* : *Who's Who*, 1926 : half-yearly *Army Lists*.

⁵ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

- (4) Edith Geddes, unm.¹
 (5) Beatrice Geddes, married J. Copeland.²

THE SUTHERLANDS.

I will now pass to the Sutherlands. There were two brothers in Scindia's service :—

- (1) Hugh Sutherland, born 1765 ; Lieut. H. M., 73rd Highlanders, 24th September 1787 ; Captain in same Regiment—; subsequently Lieut.-Col. in Scindia's service ; married Ann—; died Stockwell Green, Surrey, 25th January 1835, aged 69.³ His only child, Georgiana Madelina, married at Brixton Church, 18th February 1836, William Spencer, Bar-at-Law of the Inner Temple.⁴
- (2) Robert Sutherland, born 1768 at Tain, Ross-shire ; ensign H. M. 73rd Foot ; cashiered ; became Colonel in Scindia's service ; married Madeleine, daughter of Colonel John William Hessing ; died at Muttra, 20th July 1804, aged 36.⁵ He had three children :—
- (1a) C. P. Sutherland, died Hindia, 14th October 1801, aged 3 years.⁶

¹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

² *Ibid.*

³ It is curious that none of the books on the military adventurers should mention that there were two Sutherlands. They none about Hugh. For Hugh's death see *Gent. Ma.* C. C. Alexander Helen Sutherland "lately deceased." (This must be the Wil- to 8, p. 18). The will is dated 11th December 1828 and was proved 13th June 1835. The testator mentions landed property of his on Lake Coniston, Co. Lancaster. One of the executors was John William Sutherland "of Harley St., Westminster."

⁴ *Asiatic Journal* N. S., Vol. XIX, p. 232. This reference with several others has kindly been furnished by Major V. C. P. Hodson. See also *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, Chronicle, p. 79 : "74th Foot. Lieut. St. McDonnell Murray to be Captain-Lieutenant by purchase, vice H. Sutherland, who retires, 16th August 1799."

⁵ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 367; Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-6; Keene, *Hindustan under the Free-Lances, passim*. His will (copy at India Office) is dated 12th July 1804 : proved at Calcutta, 6th August 1804. He leaves an annuity to his sister Catharine Munro ; is "at present residing in England" under the desires to sing under 21 years of age. Testator as done.

⁶ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 367.

(2a) John William Sutherland, born 1798; married 1827, Mary James (she died 1891); died at Coombe, Croydon, 14th August 1871.¹ Father of Charles Leslie Sutherland, C.I.E. (1839—1911), and of Stewart Sutherland (died 1916). J. P. & D. L. for Co. Surrey.

(3a) Isabella.

PERRON.

As has been stated above, Pierre Cuillier, better known by his *nom-de-guerre* of Perron, married Madeleine Derridon at Delhi on 16th December 1782. By her he had twelve children, of whom ten had died in India before March 1803.² Four of them lie in the Padres Santos cemetery at Agra, with an epitaph dated 1793.³ The graves of the remainder are unknown. I have traced the baptism of one only of these children, a son who was christened at Agra on 7th October 1787.⁴ The two survivors were:—

- (1) Madeleine-Barbe Perron, born 1802; married 1817, Charles-Alfred, Comte de Montesquiou-Fezenzac (1794—1847). She died 1869, leaving issue (of whom more later).
- (2) Joseph François-Réné Perron, born 1804; married 1842, Caroline Oudinot de Reggio (she died 1896). He died without issue, 1869.

Perron married again in France in 1807; of his second wife and his children by her full details are given by M. Martineau. He died at his Chateau de Fresne (Loir-et-Cher), on 21st May 1834. It was thus through his eldest surviving daughter only, Madeleine-Barbe, that the Derridon line was continued. M. Martineau gives an elaborate table of her descendants, from which we may extract the following. She had six sons and three daughters, of whom only one son and the two

¹ Information from the Chief Librarian, Croydon Public Libraries, who kindly furnished extracts from *Transactions of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society*, 1915-16; *Croydon Chronicle*, 19th August 1871; and *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. II, p. 275. See also Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

² Martineau, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ *B. P. & P.*, Vol. XLI, p. 149; Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 136.

⁴ In the registers mentioned in note 4, p. 14.

daughters had issue. These last three were :—

- (1) Zilia de Montesquiou (1818-1899), married 1839, François Comte de Cessac (1812-1885), by whom she had issue (besides other children who died without issue) : Louise de Cessac (1842-1914), who married in 1868 Roger Sauvage de Brantes (1834-1875). The latter pair have issue—one son (Général de division Paul, Marquis de Brantes) and one daughter, Françoise de Brantes, born 1866, married 1891, Abel Comte Armand ; both these are still living and have issue.
- (2) Cécile de Montesquiou (1823-1886), married 1844, Gérard Comte de Cessac (1819-1886) ; by whom she had issue one son (who died without issue) and one daughter, Alice (1845-1920), who married 1879, Oscar Comte de Reinach (1846-1922). These latter had three children of whom the eldest, Pierre Comte de Reinach-Cessac, is married and has issue.
- (3) Arsieu de Montesquiou (1825-1883), married 1851, Cécile de Charette de Boisfoucauld. They had one daughter Jean (1852-1912) who married (1) in 1874, Camille Forestier de Forestier (by whom she had a daughter whose descendants survive) ; and (2) in 1881, Léon Comte de la Ruelle (1839-1905), by whom she had a son who is married and has children.

CONCLUSION.

It will thus be seen that the following officers in Scindia's service were connected by marriage :—

1. General P. C. Perron (Commander-in-Chief).
2. Colonel J. W. Hessing.
3. Colonel G. W. Hessing.
4. Colonel R. Sutherland (Brigadier).
5. Lt.-Col. H. Sutherland.
6. Colonel V. Duprat (Brigadier).
7. Colonel E. Pedron (Brigadier).
8. Major L. Derridon.

Indeed, there were probably other connexions amongst the military adventurers ; for example, Col. G. W. Hessing in his will speaks of his sister-in-law Louisa Finglass (*sic*), widow ; and she must surely have been connected with the celebrated Colonel Michael Finglass of the Nizam's service.¹

Though the Derridon family is extinct in the male line, it will be seen that in the female line it is represented by families of repute in France and England.

¹ Died Hyderabad 17th July 1800, aged 30. See Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

THE MULTAN OUTBREAK OF APRIL 1848.

BY K. C. KHANNA.

[*Paper read on 30th October 1933.*]

The outbreak at Multan, which led to the Second Sikh War and consequently the annexation of the Panjab, forms an important event in British Indian history and has always claimed considerable attention. In the recently published monograph on the Trial of Diwan Mul Raj, Mr. S. R. Kohli has attempted to re-examine the circumstances of this outbreak.¹ His account, though true in the main, is not exhaustive. In that portion of the introduction to the monograph, which deals with the events previous to the outbreak, there are several inaccuracies of facts and figures as I can judge from a fuller knowledge of the records in London. Mr. Kohli's reading of the military policy of the Second Sikh War is defective. But in this article I only wish to place before the reader an important document concerning the outbreak, which I discovered in the India Office, London, and to which, unfortunately, Mr. Kohli had no access.

It is an account rendered by Jamadar Kesra Singh who was a servant of Mr. Vans Agnew. He accompanied his master through all these events, and only left him on 20th April at Mr. Agnew's biding, a short while before Agnew and Anderson were killed. The next day he made for Bahawalpur, and, reaching that place on the 22nd, gave his account to Pir Ibrahim Khan, the Assistant Political Agent at that station. Pir Ibrahim Khan at once forwarded it to Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore, who sent it in his demi-official correspondence to Lord Dalhousie on the 25th. The Governor-General sent it to the Home Government, which did not let it pass unnoticed.

The historical importance of this document cannot be exaggerated. It is the account of an eye-witness reported within two days of the occurrence. It would be idle to suggest that the Jamadar was inspired to give a partial and coloured account of the outbreak, or that Pir Ibrahim Khan, in any material way, garbled the

¹ Reference is made in this article to Mr. Sita Ram Kohli's "The Trial of Diwan Mul Raj," 1932.

the Jamadar's statement. The document speaks for itself and a critical study of it belies such a suggestion. The account is impartial and contains evidence both for and against Mul Raj. Altogether, it supplies an abundance of detail, and makes the picture vivid, clear and, in some respects, different for us.

An article of this nature precludes my giving a detailed narrative of the outbreak. My purpose is to emphasise and discuss some of the more salient points in the Jamadar's statement, to check his inaccuracies if any and to show in what respects his account is different from that of the monograph. To begin with, Mr. Kohli tells us on page 5 that the three officers proceeded from Lahore to Multan by the river Ravi. This is incorrect. The two British officers proceeded by river, while Sardar Kahn Singh, the governor-designate, with the troops, went by land. Kesra Singh's account on this point is verified by what we read elsewhere, in Lee Warner's *Life of Lord Dalhousie* and in the records. In fact, the Home Government, later on, criticised the procedure on the part of the British officers which had removed any chance of their knowing the troops on the way.

This want of forethought is further illustrated by the fact that the party had not decided where to encamp when they reached Multan on 17th April. Mul Raj did not know anything about it; the British officers suggested the Idgah if Kahn Singh approved. This reliance on Kahn Singh's power and understanding was more formal than justified by later events. Mr. Kohli's account does not refer to this.

Kahn Singh advised Agnew on the 18th to 'get the fort as soon as we can.' Accordingly, the two British officers and Kahn Singh, together with two companies and 25 soldiers, went on 19th to receive charge of the fort. Mul Raj met them at the gate. It appears that he had not, as Mr. Kohli would have us believe, accompanied the party from the Idgah. The behaviour of the Jamadar stationed at the Kumar Kot Gate, by which the party entered the Fort, was noteworthy and suspicious. His question as to what Mul Raj's orders were with regard to the British officers entering the Fort was significant, and

Mul Raj's suggestion that the people in attendance on the British officers might not be allowed into the Fort for fear of causing *annoyance* was equally significant. It is surprising to note that Mul Raj took all his men inside in spite of Agnew's suggestion to the contrary.

The party visited several places in the Fort, placing British guards where necessary and encouraging the infantrymen in Mul Raj's service and assuring their officers of their old positions. As they emerged out of the Sikki Gate the same Jamadar seemed to be indignantly restless about his change of masters, and it appears Agnew took his remarks more lightly than he might have done.

There appears to be an inaccuracy in Kesra Singh's account with regard to the position of Anderson and Kahn Singh. At first it is said that they were both following Agnew and Mul Raj. Later, it is stated that both of them moved ahead of Agnew as the road was narrow, and they were afraid of falling into the ditch on either side of the draw-bridge. It is important to locate these two officers at the time of the happenings, though Mr. Kohli's account on page 6 takes no notice of this matter. Evidently, they must be in advance, or else how could they be ignorant of the attack on Agnew? It may be that Anderson and Kahn Singh, who were at first behind, rode past Agnew and Mul Raj later on.

Kesra Singh's evidence fully supports the view that Agnew did not accuse Mul Raj of the crime, but required him to make his appearance which was not done at all. Kahn Singh and officers of his force with him threw the first suspicion on Mul Raj's intentions, and also persuaded Agnew not to leave the Idgah for a camp in the open as he wished to do.

Firing began on the Idgah on the 20th. The Sikh officers assured Agnew that their troops would sacrifice their lives for him. As a matter of fact, throughout the day they did so by firing their guns in reply to the attack on the Idgah.

Jamadar Kesra Singh's account is radically different from Mr. Kohli's narrative in regard to arranging an interview between the parties. According to the Jamadar it was Mul Raj who took the

initiative. The Diwan sent a message to Colonel Isra Singh, who held military command of the Lahore forces, to stop firing. Agnew interfered, and required Mul Raj to cease firing first and then send some confident for an interview. The firing on the Idgah was not stopped but renewed with great vigour, with the result that Colonel Isra Singh and his men deserted Kahn Singh and the British officers, and joined the enemy.

Thereupon a section of Mul Raj's troops advanced against the Idgah. At this stage Agnew advised Kahn Singh to hold an interview with Mul Raj if the latter so wished, as there was no use spilling unnecessary blood. The Sardar was imprisoned. The soldiers then advanced. Kesra Singh was ordered by Agnew to leave his side. Agnew and Anderson were first shot dead on their *charpoy*s, and then their heads were cut off and their bodies barbarously mutilated. Agnew who was in charge of the position had behaved throughout with admirable courage and confidence in a difficult situation.

When these soldiers returned to Mul Raj he joined Isra Singh's artillery with his own, took possession of the plundered property and rewarded the soldiers who brought the heads of the officers. In other words, it was now that he completely joined the insurgents. Mr. Kohli does not mention the subject of rewards at all. Later, all the other property was taken and Kahn Singh was imprisoned in the Am Khas.

It is necessary to refer to a point in Mr. Kohli's introduction before passing on to the text of the Jamadar's letter. On page 7 of the monograph it is stated that Mul Raj sent Raizada Tulsi Ram to wait upon Mr. Agnew with a letter of excuse and *warning*. Kesra Singh is silent on this point. Nor is there any trace of the *warning* in Tulsi Ram's evidence given on pp. 108-17, or of Ram Rang's on pp. 118-23 of the monograph.

Statement of Jamadar Kesra Singh, servant of Mr. Vans Agnew. (Currie to Lord Dalhousie. D. O. 25th April. India Office Records, Secret Consultations, 7th October, 1848, No. 43.)

"On the 22nd April, Jamadar Kesra Singh came to me (Pir Ibrahim Khan) at Bahawalpur and gave me the following statement :—

“ On the 17th April in the morning Mr. Vans Agnew accompanied by Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh Man arrived at the landing place called Rajghat at Multan. Megh Raj, Diwan Mul Raj's münshi, came to pay his respects and stated that the Diwan had sent an elephant to convey the party wherever they may wish to pitch their camp. Mr. Vans Agnew said, ‘ We will encamp here to-day and to-morrow, if Sardar Kahn Singh approves, take up our quarters at the Idgah.’

On the 18th they went in the morning to the Idgah. An hour afterwards, Diwan Mul Raj accompanied by Lala Rang Ram and other attendants had an interview which lasted for a quarter of an hour. At 12 o'clock he sent a *ziyafut*. In the afternoon, he paid a second visit, remaining for two hours. In the course of the conversation he requested Mr. Vans Agnew to inspect the Fort, the troops, stores, etc., to which Mr. Vans Agnew replied that he would come the next day. The Diwan then took leave.

On the 19th at sunrise Mr. Vans Agnew accompanied by Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh Man and attended by two companies of the Gurkha Regiment and 23 (25 ?) sowars went to the Fort. The Diwan came out to the Kummur Kot Gate to meet them. When they arrived at the outer Gate, the Jamadar stationed there asked the Diwan what were his orders as to letting the British officers enter the Fort. The Diwan replied ‘ The Sahib is master.’ The Diwan then said it would not be advisable to allow the crowd in attendance to enter also, as it would cause annoyance. Mr. Vans Agnew upon this, left behind one of the companies and the 25 sowars, and took in with him only one company. The Diwan was requested by Mr. Vans Agnew to leave some of his people behind also, but he did not do so. The British officers inspected the Fort, and among other things requested to see the place known by the name of Muzaffar Khan's cutcherry. The Diwan said it was used for confining prisoners and that it was not in a fit state to be seen. Mr. Vans Agnew replied, ‘ It is no matter.’ They then visited a place belonging to the late Diwan Sawan Mal, and Mr. Vans Agnew directed the officer in command of the company, which they had taken in with them, to place his guards in the same positions which the Diwan's soldiers held previously.

After taking a parade of the golundazes and other soldiers Mr. Vans Agnew spoke a few words of encouragement to them, telling them that all their officers would maintain the same positions which they then held. When they came out by the Sikki Gate, the same Jamadar who had accosted Mul Raj on entering asked what his orders were, to which the Diwan replied, 'you were formerly my servant, you will now serve the *sahib* who will treat you as well as I have.' The Jamadar said 'I am now your servant, but when I have been removed from your service we shall see.' Mr. Vans Agnew laughing said, 'Don't fear, the Diwan's servants shall be as mine, and mine as his.'

Mr. Vans Agnew and Diwan Mul Raj then proceeded side by side on horseback, while Lieut. Anderson and the Sardar Kahn Singh Man followed behind. On arriving at the drawbridge a soldier of a dark complexion advancing forward, thrust a spear at Mr. Vans Agnew's side which slightly wounded him. He fell off his horse, Diwan Mul Raj's horse reared. The Diwan then pressed on his horse and proceeded to the Am Khas. The road being narrow, Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh moved on a little ahead of Mr. Vans Agnew in order to avoid falling into the ditch. With the exception of the Diwan no one knew that the soldier had thrust the spear at Mr. Vans Agnew, nor did that officer mention it. The sepoy then made a rush and cut Mr. Vans Agnew over the shoulder behind with his sword, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew struck him with a stick he had in his hand and broke open his head. The sepoy then cut Mr. Vans Agnew upon the arm, while other sepoys, Mussalmans, attacked Lieut. Anderson, sword in hand. That officer closed with them, and was wounded on the forehead and on the back. He was immediately set upon by more sepoys and wounded both in the thigh and under the arm. Mahkim Naik and Sumand Khan sepoy took him up and carried him off to the camp in the Idgah. Mul Raj's soldiers all stood up and drew their swords.

Sardar Kahn Singh dismounted and came up to Mr. Vans Agnew, who after having his wounds bound up (by) Kesra Singh, got on an elephant with Kahn Singh and returned to the Idgah. As they passed the Am Khas in which Mul Raj was, they observed his people bringing

out three large and four small guns in front of the place, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew asked whose guns they were? Kesra Singh replied that they were Mul Raj's. Mr. Vans Agnew then turned off from that road and proceeded in another direction to the Idgah. The golundazes then fired a gun, the shot of which passed over their heads.¹

Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieut. Anderson had their wounds dressed in the Idgah during which occupation Mr. Vans Agnew wrote letters to Lahore and Bunnoo which were sent off through the news-writer. At the same time he sent information to Pir Ibrahim Khan at Bahawalpur.

At 9 o'clock he sent a message to the Diwan informing him that he did not consider the Diwan was to blame for what had taken place. In an hour and half an old munshi came on the part of the Diwan, and said that his master had intended to pay him a visit, but had been prevented by the sepoys, who had even wounded Rang Ram, a relation of the Diwan's. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked that he did not attach any blame to the Diwan, but desired that the soldiers who had wounded himself and Lieut. Anderson might be seized and imprisoned.

The munshi observed that the Diwan would certainly make his appearance before evening. In the evening a follower of the Diwan arrived and stated that his master could not just then make his appearance, but would come as soon as might be in his power. His arrival was expected during the whole night. In the evening Sardar Kaln Singh, Colonel Isra Singh of the artillery, and the other Colonel commanding the Gurkha Regiment remarked that it was strange that the Diwan did not arrive, and expressed a suspicion that he intended to make a disturbance.

Mr. Vans Agnew said that it would be advisable to leave the Idgah and encamp in a place where they would be beyond the reach of the guns in the Fort, to which the Sikh officers replied that the Idgah would stand battering from balls, and that water and provisions were both procurable, while perhaps they would not be in another situation. Mr. Vans Agnew agreed with them. This indicates that an attack on the Idgah was feared.

On the 20th April at 9 o'clock, a gun was fired from the Fort, which struck the mosque where the British officers were. The Sikh

¹ Later -- gun was not shot. cf. Currie to Dalhousie, 22nd April : : 7th October, 1848, No. 41.]

officers came up to Mr. Vans Agnew and said, 'you observe that you did not think that the Diwan was to blame; there can be no doubt about it now.' Mr. Vans Agnew remarked, 'we must now look after our position.' The Sikh officers said that the whole of the troops under them would sacrifice their lives in his service. They then went off to take measures for the defence of their several positions, while about this time shots began to pour in from the guns in the Fort. Mr. Vans Agnew said to Kahn Singh, 'What ammunition have you?' He replied, 'enough for 3 or 4 days.' Mr. Vans Agnew advised the Sardar not to fire a gun as long as the guns were being served from the Fort, but to commence as soon as the Diwan's soldiers quitted it. The golundazes took two of their guns to a raised place to the south of the Idgah, from whence they served their guns. Colonel Isra Singh, however, brought his guns to bear on it, and they were obliged to remove theirs. In the afternoon four or five guns were again brought up to the same place while others were taken to the east of the Idgah. The artillery men in the Idgah continued their firing.

A man then came on the part of Mul Raj to Colonel Isra Singh with the following message: "The Diwan desires you to stop your firing and to pay him a visit. The Colonel informed Mr. Vans Agnew, on which that officer remarked that no confidence was to be placed in the Diwan's word, but that if he would silence his own guns, and send one of his confidants, Mr. Vans Agnew would hold an interview with him. After the man had taken his departure and re-joined the Diwan's troops, the firing was renewed with greater vigour than ever and continued till evening on both sides. Two golundazes in the Idgah were wounded as well as several horses and (an) Akali's son was killed on the other side. After dark an attack was made by all the troops, on the Idgah, on the east, west and south sides.

Colonel Isra Singh and his artillery men then went over to the enemy.

Sardar Kahn Singh immediately informed Mr. Vans Agnew that these troops had joined the Diwan's soldiers. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked that there was no remedy.

When the Diwan's people approached the mosque, Sardar Kahn Singh said, 'There is nothing left now but to die.' Mr. Vans Agnew

recommended him if it should be the Diwan's wish, to hold an interview with him as there was no remedy for the troops having gone over, and resistance would involve an unnecessary loss of life. Sardar Kahn Singh then advanced ten paces and begged for quarter.

A soldier upon this fired at him but without hitting him. The Sardar then fired a pistol at him in return. The other sepoy then seized the Sardar, and began to plunder the place. Mr. Vans Agnew by the assistance of Kesra Singh raised himself up and shaking hands with Lieut. Anderson, bade him a last farewell. Kesra Singh took Mr. Vans Agnew's gun and fired it at the Diwan's soldiers, one of whom was wounded.

On the insurgents coming close up to the mosque, Kesra Singh, Mr. Vans Agnew's khidmatgar, left the place by that officer's order. Diwan Mul Raj's soldiers came up to the *charpoy*s on which the two officers were lying, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew taking a pistol fired it at them, but it hung fire. He then took out a sword and wounded one of them. A sepoy then fired off a gun at Mr. Vans Agnew the charge of which, striking him on the left side, killed him.

The soldiers cut off his head, as well as Lieut. Anderson and mutilated their bodies in the most barbarous manner.

They then took away the two murdered officers' heads, together with the guns and all the property they could lay hands on, to Diwan Mul Raj, who joined the artillery with his own, took possession of the property, and gave presents to the soldiers who brought in the two heads.

On the 21st Diwan Mul Raj ordered all the remaining property to be brought into the Fort, and gave directions for imprisoning Sardar Kahn Singh in the Am Khas.

Kesra Singh visited Sardar Kahn Singh and asked what he was to do. The Sardar advised him to get off to Bahawalpur and then to go up to Lahore by Ferozpur. The Jamadar left the city and on his way saw a sepoy holding Mr. Vans Agnew's head in his hands while he was treating it with insult. The Jamadar then traversed the jungle for twelve *kos* and succeeded in reaching Bahawalpur."

THE BALLADS OF GEORGE CARNAC BARNES.¹

[EDITED BY R. R. SETHI.]

These ballads, which are still sung as ordinary folk-songs in the Kangra District, were collected by Sir George Staphylton Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., (son of George Carnac Barnes) during a visit to that District in 1918, while he was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. One of these ballads has already been published (with the vernacular version and notes) in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 10-11, under the title of "the Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kalu Naggar Tract. Recorded by Mr. C. H. Donald : Edited by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey."

BALLAD No. 1.

Stuvanti loka bhuvi Barnakhyam
 Bhajanti Sarve Hriditannidhaya
 Janyohi tasmath parona kaschit
 Tan tausmi bhupam bhuvi Barnakhyam

 Eko na binshohi shate chathurthi
 Abde sa bhupou yet tesam bhunow
 Pradacheh Saukhyam nrganaya raja
 Tan tausmi bhupam bhuvi Barnakhyam

¹ George Carnac Barnes, who was born in 1818, was not the first of his family to serve India. His father was Archdeacon Barnes, the first Archdeacon of Bombay, History of the Church whom he was asked after of James Rivett-Carnac, who,

after long service in B
 and next Chairman of tl
 G. C. Barnes, after
 Civil Service in 1837.

of G. C. Barnes, in 1839, he was one of the men (the tower, as they
 of the North-Western Provinces), who were
 selected for its administration. There he became, in the words of Sir Richard Temple,
 "an officer of John Lawrence's own school and entirely after his liking." [*Men
 and Events of my time in India*, (1882), p. 86.] During the Mutiny in 1857
 he did splendid work as Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States. [*Punjab Mutiny
 Reports* (Lahore, 1911), Vol. I.] In 1858 he was appointed Commissioner of the
 States in addition to his duties as Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States.
 In 1859, the Hill State of Bashahr, of which he was Commissioner, was
 ravaged by a severe epidemic of dysentery.

Dinaya dattam dhan dhanya soukhyam
 So din loke Kurutecha ganam
 Nandanti dina bhuvi marga bhage
 Tan tosmi bhupam bhuvi Barnakhyam

Granhati lokesmih bhagdheyam
 Nochatidirgham jan harshdaya
 Dhayanti loka ih dukka haram
 Tan tosmi bhupam bhuvi Barnakhyam

TRANSLATION OF BALLAD No 1.

People praise Barnes Sahib and all wish to serve him
 And praise none other than him.
 He came to this tract of country in 1904 Bikram¹
 And showered blessings on the poor.
 To the poor he gave money, food and comfort.
 Hearing his name while standing on the road
 People begin to dance there.
 His name alone makes people happy,
 His name alone has power to remove all pains and miseries,
 And so we sing his praises from our hearts.

BALLAD No. 2.

Baran Sahib hai dehdi Sarkar loko
 Dekho Sarkar loko

Tope Tope daroo bandia
 Manen bande han tir loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da

Pehli larai Fatahchand Charhia
 Lohioan de bagi jandi har loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da

Pehla bandobast Barne kita
 Aji tak dinde duai garib loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da

¹ Corresponds to A.D. 1847.

Sundar jawan bahadur surma
 Koi aisa nahin dekhia Angrez loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da
 Barn sahib khandan banai
 Ditian bakhshi jagir loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da
 Sahib Bahadur zib Kang aya
 Hogai lok khooshbab loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da
 Tihre Sujanpur Raji pakre
 Hogaya aman aman loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da
 Aisa nahin koi rehmdil sunya
 Na dekhia garib parwar Angrez loko
 Dekho Tamasha Barne da

TRANSLATION OF BALLAD No. 2.

Barnes Sahib is a strong and just ruler ;
 Let us note his great deeds, O people !
 Powder he distributed by bushels,
 By maunds he gave away arrows.
 Let us count his great deeds, O people !
 In the first battle Raja Fateh Chand was the foe ;¹
 Then flowed streams of blood.
 Let us count his great deeds, O people !
 The first Settlement was carried out by Barnes Sahib ;²
 For this rich and poor all bless him.
 Let us remember his noble deeds, O people !
 So youthful, so heroic, so fine a gentleman ;
 Never have we seen such a gentleman.
 Let us remember his noble deeds, O people !

¹ *Vide* History of Kangra State by Hutchison and Vogel—*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 12-84.

² Barnes undertook the first regular Settlement of the Kangra District, the result of which was to add, according to his estimate, from 15 to 20 per cent. to each man's income—Report on the Kangra Settlement by G. C. Barnes, 1850, p. 53, para. 352.

Barnes Sahib granted *jagirs* and thus perpetuated noble families.

Sing his glory, O people !

Barnes Sahib came to Kangra and cleared it of its foes.

Sing his glorious deeds, O people !

He arrested the Rajas at Sujanpur Tira, ¹

And thus established peace everywhere.

Sing his glorious deeds, O people !

ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION.

Barnes Sahib is a strong and good ruler, see his wonderful deeds;
He distributed among people hatfuls of gunpowder along with arrows.

The first battle was fought with Fatehchand, and streams of blood were shed.

Barnes Sahib made the first Settlement.

People pray for him even till now.

He is a handsome and brave youth,

We have not seen an Englishman like him.

Barnes Sahib established several families, and gave away *jagirs* to people.

Sahib came to Kangra and people became prosperous ;

He arrested the Raja of Sujanpur and restored peace.

People have never heard of such a merciful ruler, and friend of the poor.

BALLAD No. 3.

Mera phoolnoon lanan Baran Sahibe ri Tope

Baran Sahib hai bahadur jawan

Raja mhara balak chhota

Mulkha pal bhoosali chalo Sahiba Barne ri topa

¹. During the Second Sikh War, the Kangra Raja rebelled with two other Rajas, seized his ancestral palace at Tira, and proclaimed that the British Raj was at an end. John Lawrence, then Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, took the field and dividing his force in two, sent Barnes with one detachment against the Kangra Raja and marched himself with the other detachment against the other Rajas. Barnes captured the Kangra Raja's forts and took him prisoner, and Lawrence had equal success.—Panjab Government Record Office Publications. Monograph No. 10, pp. 76-77.

Chalo bhaio faradi chalia Barn Sahib ri age
 Poora tolda bina bate nasaf lena
 Barn Sahibe ri hathan
 Log pooje Lahore ta Sahib
 Bhoobe ri joten
 Mera phoolnoon lana Baran Sahib ri topa.

TRANSLATION OF BALLAD No. 3.

Apply the flower-crest (plume) to the hat of Barnes Sahib, who
 is a full-grown youth.
 While our Raja is an infant minor,¹
 There is unrest in the country ;
 So let us go in search of Barnes Sahib.
 When the people reach Lahore
 Barnes Sahib is already crossing Bhaboo pass.
 Brothers, let us go to Barnes Sahib
 And lay our grievances before him.
 He weighs right without weights ;
 Let us therefore have justice at his hands.

ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION.

Put my flower in Barnes Sahib's hat,
 Barnes Sahib, our young Raja, is a brave youth.
 People were astounded when Sahib fired his guns.
 Let us go and place our case before Sahib,
 Barnes Sahib will do justice, he weighs full without weights.
 People reached Lahore while Sahib reached the Bhaboo pass.

¹ *Vide* History of Kangra State by Hutchison and Vogel—*Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 12-84.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
(INCORPORATING THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY).
Financial Statement for 1932-33.

The income of the Panjab University Historical Society, Lahore, from 13th April 1932 to 12th April 1933 is given below :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
48 ordinary members subscription ..	386	12	0
7 student members subscription ..	25	0	0
Grant from Panjab University ..	350	0	0
Sale of Journal ..	109	10	0
Recovery of the balance of Imprest money from the ex-clerk of the Society	13	2	0
Total ..	884	8	0

The expenditure during the same period is shown thus—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Clerk	50	0	0
Printing of Journal ..	722	15	6
Postage and contingencies ..	124	14	0
Exchange on realisation of four cheques	1	0	0
Total ..	898	13	6

The balance at the beginning of the year was Rs. 1,572-13-7. At present it is Rs. 1,558-8-1.

J. F. BRUCE,

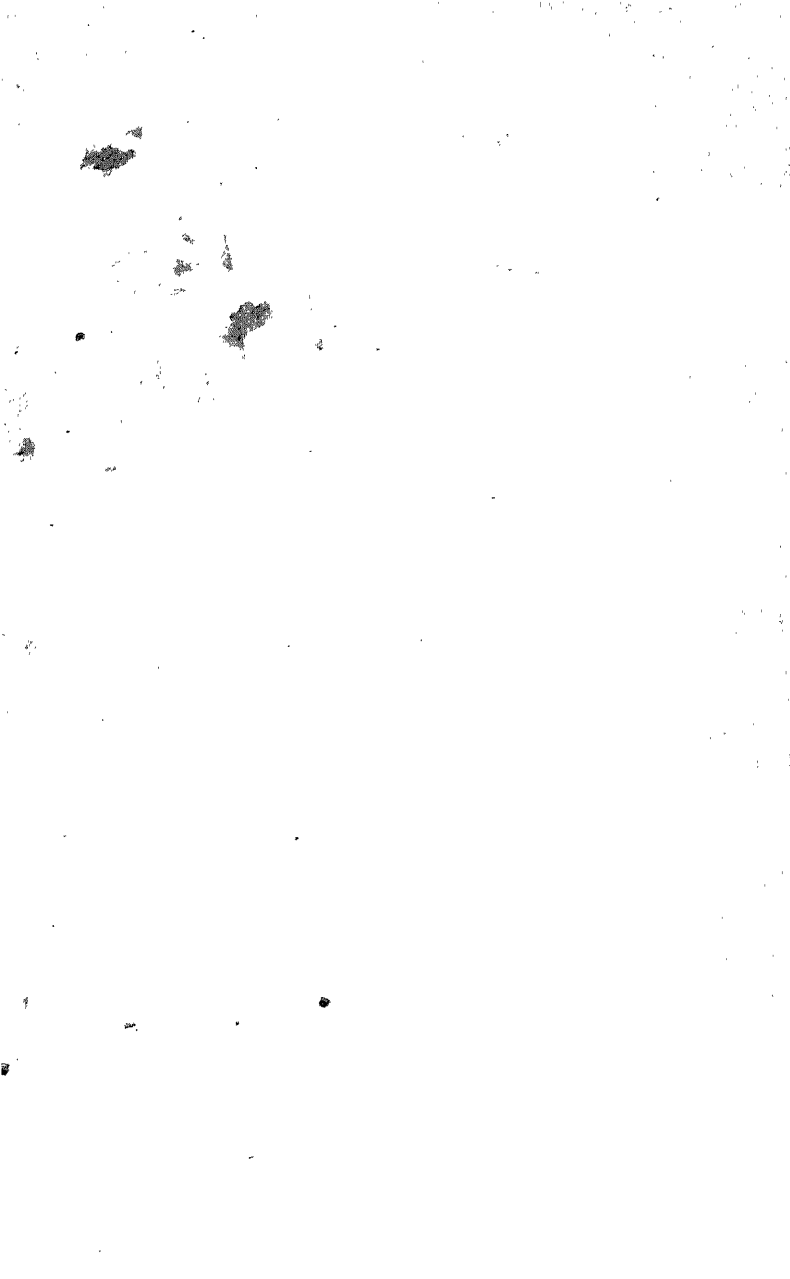
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